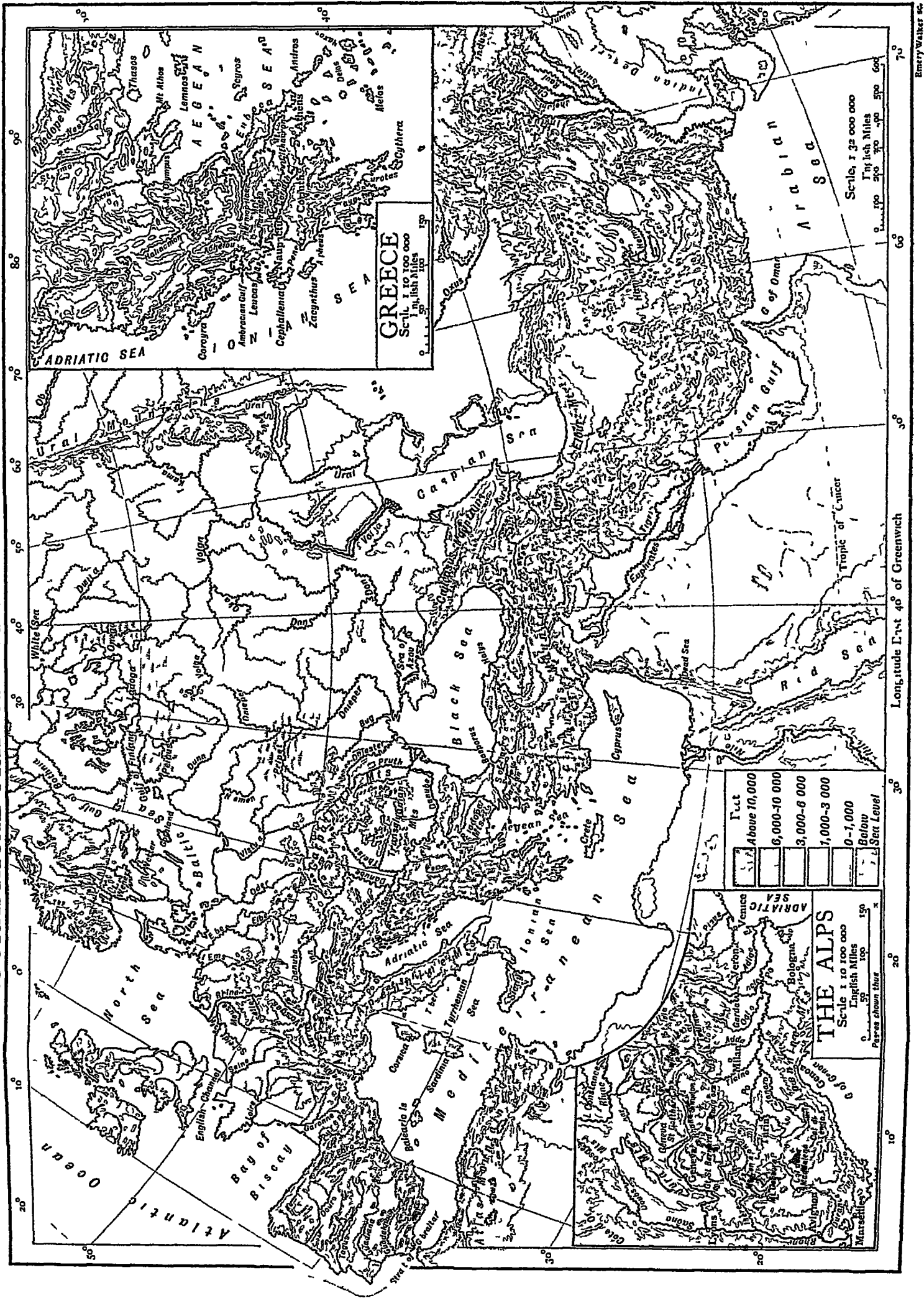


A HISTORY OF EUROPE
PART III

OROGRAPHICAL MAP OF EUROPE AND WESTERN ASIA



A HISTORY OF EUROPE

PART III
MODERN EUROPE
(INCLUDING GREAT BRITAIN)

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"Ego misi vos metere quod vos non laborastis, alii laboraverunt
et vos in labores eorum introistis"

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WITH 8 COLOURED MAPS AND 4 UNCOLOURED MAPS IN TEXT

NEW IMPRESSION

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TO
E. A. G.

Made in Great Britain

PREFACE

A NEW edition of this book has allowed me to bring the narrative down to the Peace Conference at Versailles. I have also now added chapters on the course of English and British history. I had at first excluded the story of our own island from my survey, on the ground that readers of this book were likely to be already acquainted with the course of English history, and that histories of England and Britain, of every size and tendency, already abounded. But from the first friends and critics urged that the usefulness of the book would be increased by chapters dealing with the development of our own fortunes, and I have come to believe that they were right.

I have adopted, in writing these chapters, a rather different method from that which I had followed in the others. In the European chapters I avoided anything like allusion or discussion of doubtful points, and assumed that my readers had little or no previous knowledge of the subject. But in the chapters on England and Great Britain I have imagined myself to be writing for those who are already acquainted with the outlines of English history, and I have kept usually in view a comparison between the development of England and that of other European countries. I have also tried to suggest certain points of view rather than to give a detailed narrative, which in the space at my disposal was impossible.

There is another method of presenting general European history, practised both in Germany and in France, which has failed to recommend itself to me. There are books in both languages, of high credit and wide circulation, in which the main theme is a fairly full narrative of national history, differing in no marked way from that of the ordinary histories,

while the events of other countries are brought in from time to time as a sort of appendix to the national story I cannot see that much is gained by this method Events are not presented in their true proportions or in correct perspective, if they are always looked at from Berlin or Paris, and the attempt to judge them all from the meridian of London would be even less successful If the history of Europe is worth study it is because the subject has a unity in itself, apart from that which belongs to the life of any particular state Its great service is to correct national egotism, to allow of unbiassed comparisons between different systems of life and government, and to emphasize the interdependence of the different elements of the commonwealth of Europe None of these objects can be attained if the point of view of a single state is maintained throughout

I have tried to avoid making my book a compendium of dates and facts Such books have their great value, and Freeman's "History of Europe" still occupies an honoured place on the shelves of most students of history But my aim has been a different one What has been said of the artist—"that his greatness is shown as much by what he leaves out as by what he puts in"—may be applied even to the humble labours of the writer of an historical text-book My hope is that I have not mentioned names or events unless their importance or significance is made apparent in the text I know that there are many great statesmen and many great battles, of which there is no mention in this volume

I trust that no one will think that the serious character of the book is diminished by the fact that I have put a poetical quotation at the beginning and at the end I have always felt that the wider the survey of history the stronger is the appeal which it makes to the feelings and the imagination, and that the most rigid application of historical science (if there be an historical science) cannot prevent history, when regarded as a whole, from drawing near to poetry The famous chorus from Sophocles seems to me to give, as nothing else does, the wonder of man's record on earth, and Wordsworth's sonnet is the best expression that I have found of the sentiment with which a student of history naturally regards the future

I have received much help from friends in the production of this book. Professor Appleton, of Sheffield, and Professor Hearnshaw, of King's College, London, were kind enough to examine the proofs of the first edition. Miss A. M. Cooke, my colleague at Leeds, and Dr G. S. Veitch of Liverpool University, have gone through the chapters on English History. Major F. R. Dale, M.C., D.S.O., Headmaster of Plymouth Grammar School, gave me advice on the last chapter. My old pupil, Miss A. M. Evans, M.A., of the Normal College, Bangor, prepared the index for me. To all of these I tender my hearty thanks.

LEEDS UNIVERSITY,
1920

CONTENTS

PART III

MODERN EUROPE

CHAPTER	PAGE
I THE ITALIAN WARS	472
II THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY	481
III THE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY .	494
IV SPAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS	504
V FRANCE AND THE REFORMATION	514
VI ENGLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	530
VII THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR .	548
VIII THE GROWTH OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY RICHELIEU AND MAZARIN .	561
IX THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV	573
X. GREAT BRITAIN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY	597
XI THE BALTIC LANDS AND THE RISE OF RUSSIA	617
XII PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	629
XIII THE DECLINE OF FRANCE AND THE END OF THE ANCIENT REGIME	644
XIV THE FRENCH REVOLUTION	661
XV NAPOLEON	684
XVI GREAT BRITAIN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	704

CHAPTER	PAGE
XVII REACTION, REVOLUTION, AND REACTION AGAIN	724
XVIII THE WINNING OF ITALIAN UNITY	738
XIX THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE	748
XX GREAT BRITAIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	760
XXI THE LATEST AGE BETWEEN TWO WARS	779
XXII THE GREAT WAR	805
INDEX /	[1]

MAPS AND PLANS

COLOURED MAPS

	PAGE
OROGRAPHICAL MAP OF EUROPE AND WESTERN ASIA	
<i>Frontispiece</i>	
EUROPE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, SHOWING THE TERRITORIES OF CHARLES THE BOLD AND THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE	472
EUROPE IN THE TIME OF CHARLES V	472
EUROPE IN 1715, AFTER THE TREATIES OF UTRECHT AND RASTADT, WITH INSET OF PARTITION OF POLAND	578
EUROPE IN 1810	664
EUROPE IN 1815	664
EUROPE IN 1912 (SHOWING THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY)	701
MAP SHOWING THE FRONTIERS OF THE BALLAN POWERS AS ARRANGED BY THE TREATY OF BUCHAREST, 1913	803

UNCOLOURED MAPS AND PLANS IN TEXT

THE REVOLT FROM ROME	499
THE GROWTH OF PRUSSIA	628
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AT WAR, AND DATES OF ENTRY INTO CONFLICT	808
FURTHEST ADVANCE OF GERMAN ARMY, 1914 AND 1918, WITH LINE AT DATE OF ARMISTICE	818
MAP OF EUROPE IN 1920	835

PART III
MODERN EUROPE

Many the things that strange and wondrous are,
None stranger and more wonderful than man ,
 He dares to wander far,
With stormy blast across the hoary sea,
 Where nought his eyes can scan
But waves still surging round unceasingly ,
 And Earth, of all the Gods,
Mightiest, unwearied, indestructible,
He weareth year by year, and breaks her clods,
While the keen ploughshare marks its furrows well,
 Still turning to and fro ,
 And still he bids his steeds
 Through daily task-work go

 And speech and subtle thought
 Swift as the wind,
 And temper duly wrought
 To statesman's mind,—
These he has learnt, and how to flee the power
 Of cold that none may bear,
And all the tempest darts of arrowy shower,
 That hurtle through the air ,
Armed at all points, unarmed he nought shall meet
 That coming time reveals ,
Only from death still finds he no retreat,
Though many a sore disease that hopeless seemed
 he heals

Sophocles' Antigone (5th Century B C) translated by PLUMPTRE

PART III

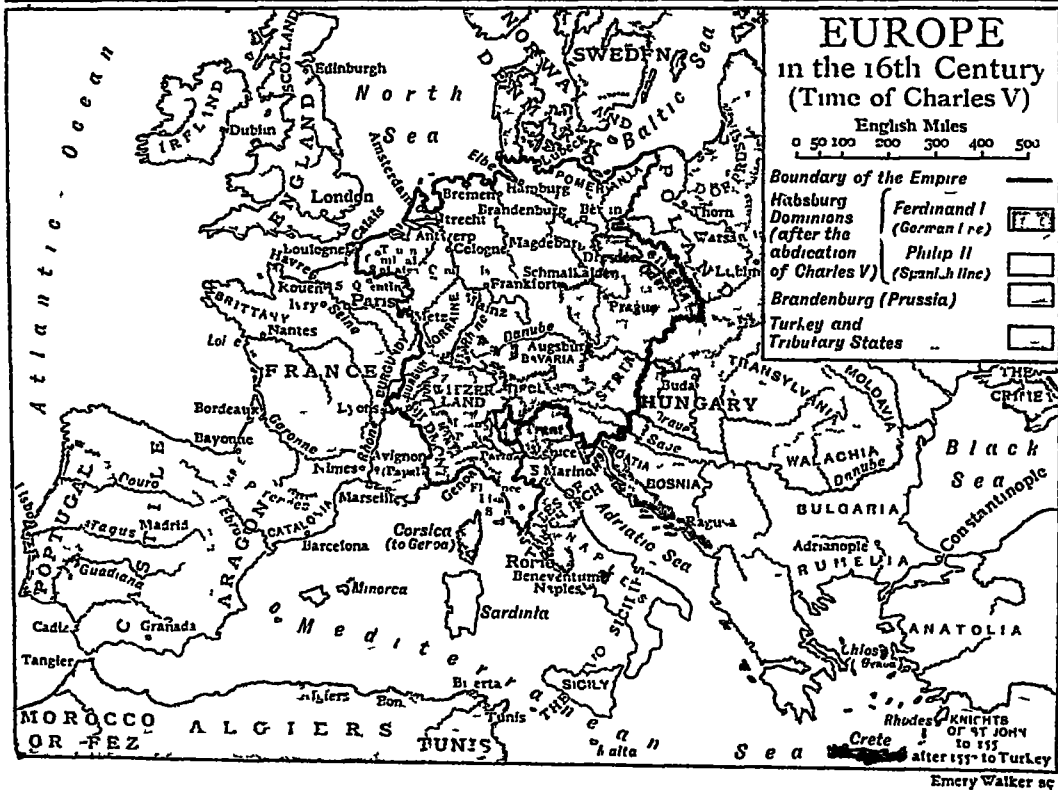
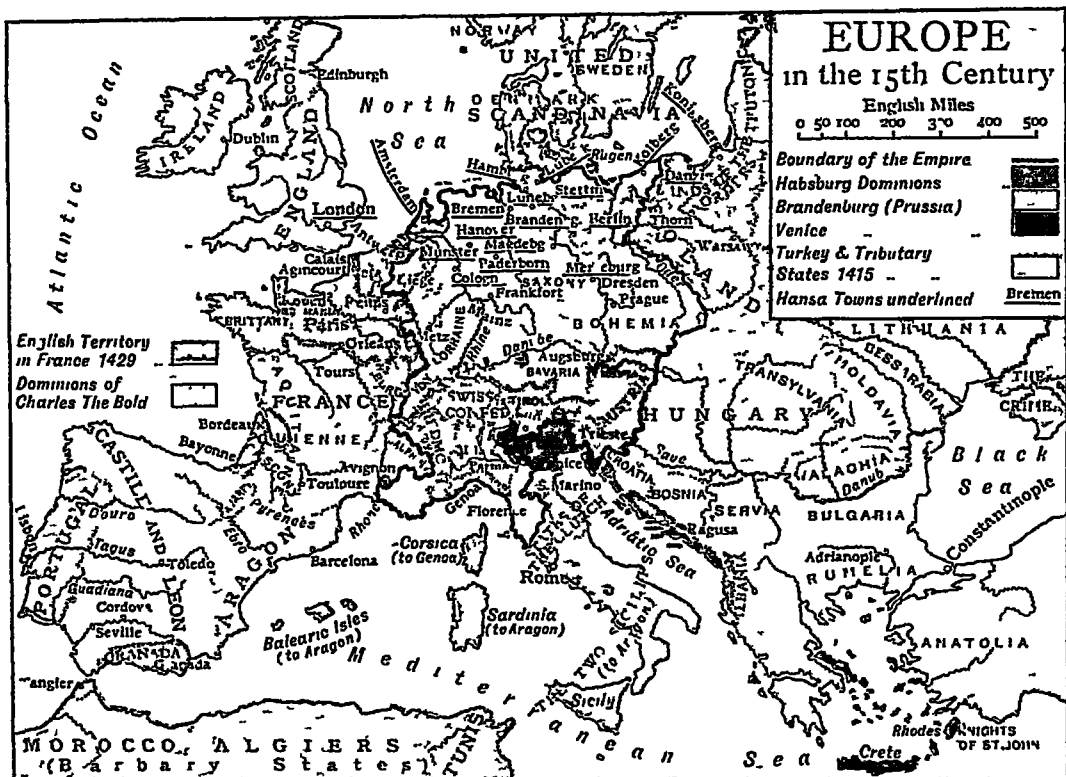
MODERN EUROPE

CHAPTER I

The Italian Wars

SINCE the fall of the Roman Empire, Italy had often been the prey of the stronger nations of Europe. We have seen the frequent invasions of the barbarians from the Visigoths to the Franks. We have seen how the Saracens and the Normans had made settlements upon the coasts of Italy, and how from the tenth to the thirteenth century the emperors again and again led their troops into the country from Germany. But since the end of the thirteenth century Italy had enjoyed peace from serious external invasion. We saw in the last chapter how her wealth and her splendour had developed during that time. But her military strength had by no means kept pace with her intellectual and artistic growth, her cities were at war with one another, and entrusted their defence, for the most part, to mercenary soldiers. Thus Italy was at once wealthy and defenceless, she formed the natural prey of the strong, united monarchy which had grown up during the last half century in France.

When Louis XI died, he bequeathed to Charles VIII a monarchy which controlled the resources of the country more completely than any other monarchy of Europe. Charles VIII of France possessed a warlike population and a large army, which was entirely at the disposal of the crown, and during the struggle with England and Burgundy she had developed the use of artillery beyond what was known in the rest of Europe. Charles VIII did not possess the strange



genius of his father, nor does he seem to have been a man beyond the average in any way. But he was conscious of the weapon that was in his hand. He was ambitious to signalize himself by some great deed, and Italy naturally attracted him. The royal house of France had certain claims upon Naples, these claims were indeed of little validity, but they were enough to furnish a diplomatic excuse for aggression. In 1494 the ruler of Milan, Lodovico the Moor, appealed to France for protection against a threatened attack from Florence, and Charles VIII readily availed himself of the excuse to pass into Italy.

(This first invasion of Italy by the French is in many respects the most interesting of the many expeditions which were conducted by French generals into that land. The French were amazed at the wealth and beauty of the cities of Italy, and the Italians, on their side, were astonished at the efficiency and the rapidity of the French army, and especially at the ease with which the French artillery was worked. No effective resistance was made to them. Florence, Pisa, Rome, and then Naples itself were entered without serious fighting, and France seemed to have made herself mistress of the whole peninsula.)

But then came a sudden change, characteristic of Italy in the sixteenth century, and indeed characteristic of Europe at the same epoch. The principle of what is called the European "balance of power" began to be talked of. It was an indefinite phrase, but it meant, in effect, that no great alteration in the comparative strength of the great states of Europe should be tolerated, and that all should combine against any power which seemed to be establishing itself in dangerous supremacy over the rest. We see, therefore, if we trace the intricate diplomacy of this time how a great victory won by any one power was almost inevitably the signal for an alliance against that power, and so the triumphant march of Charles VIII through Italy at once brought into being a dangerous movement against him. The Italian powers took the leading part, but they did not stand alone. Along with Milan, Venice and the papacy, Ferdinand of Spain and the Emperor Maximilian joined

in the movement Charles VIII saw that if he waited long it would not be so easy for him to get out of Italy as it had been to march through it. He left Naples and marched rapidly back. In July, 1495, he met at Fornovo the army of the allies. A sharp tussle ended in a French victory, and the army got home in safety. But with the withdrawal of the troops, all the conquests and the prestige of France melted away. When Charles VIII died in 1498, there was nothing left to the French crown of all that he had won.

Charles VIII was succeeded by his cousin, Louis XII. His domestic government was humane and successful, and won for him the title of "Father of his Country." In his foreign policy he took up again the Italian schemes of Charles VIII, and like all French rulers, who have entertained ideas of Italian conquest, he met with some brilliant early successes, which soon were clouded over with failure. His first attack was directed in 1499 against Milan, upon which his house had some claim. It was occupied without difficulty, partly in consequence of the assistance which Venice gave to France out of jealousy for her neighbour. Then Louis turned his eyes upon Naples, but here a difficulty presented itself. Spain, as well as France, had claims upon Naples, and claims perhaps more strongly founded. The French advance upon Naples would probably be resisted by a Spanish army. The difficulty was for the time eluded by a treaty with Spain (the Treaty of Granada) for a common campaign against Naples and a joint partition of that unoffending and defenceless state. Naples could make no resistance against the combination of these two great powers. The city surrendered, and the King of Naples soon passed as a prisoner into France. But then the real difficulties began. The treaty of partition had been vaguely drawn. It was not easy to see what part of the stolen lands belonged to Spain and what part to France. War broke out between the two robber states, and in a series of campaigns the French were defeated and driven from all Neapolitan territory.

At this juncture a new force came into Italian politics in

the person of Pope Julius II. Hitherto the French had had to deal with Alexander VI, probably the worst man who ever wore the papal crown. He had readily made Pope himself the tool of French diplomacy, but Julius II was a man of better character and a far more energetic statesman. The spiritual functions of the papacy received scant attention at his hands, but he was a judicious patron of the arts and especially of Michael Angelo, and he aspired to play a great and decisive part in the politics of Italy. The first movement in which he was concerned was little to his credit. We have noted the great wealth of Venice, the stability of her Government, the skill of her statesmen, and the large tract of territory which she had won upon the mainland of Italy. There was no cause for war against her. But her territories were coveted by many — by France, by the empire, by Spain, by Florence, and by the papacy, all of whom were her neighbours. The situation led to the infamous League of Cambray, in which all these powers joined for the conquest and spoiling of Venice. She could make no headway against so vast an alliance, her troops were beaten and she was forced to abandon her possessions upon the mainland. But the victory of the allies led immediately to quarrels among them, and Julius II was soon aware that even in the interest of the States of the Church he had made a mistake when he invited foreign powers to the plunder of Italian soil. The relations of the states of Italy changed during this time with bewildering rapidity, and the union of the weaker against the strongest was the usual principle of alliance. In 1511 Julius II formed a Holy League for the expulsion of the French from Italy. Venice, Spain, and the emperor were induced to join against France, and a little later England also came in to this Holy League. France fought brilliantly, and for a time successfully, against her opponents, but by 1513 she had lost all that she had won in Italy, with the exception of the citadel of Milan, and had suffered reverses in France itself at the hands of the English. Then French diplomacy succeeded in breaking up the alliance, and peace was made just before Louis died in 1515.

He was succeeded by his cousin, Francis I, young, impetuous, and eager for military distinction. He at once determined that France should enter again upon the Italian adventure. He had no ally except Venice, while Spain, the empire, and the papacy joined to resist him. Francis I effected a passage of the Alps, which was compared by his flatterers to the famous exploit of Hannibal, and falling upon the army of his enemies at Marignano, near Milan, he utterly defeated them in a battle which lasted for two days. It was thought especially glorious that the foot-soldiers of France had in this encounter fought down the famous Swiss mercenaries who fought on the other side. The battle was followed by important permanent results. For first Francis was able to make with the Swiss a treaty which ensured that their troops should not for the future be employed against France, and next he made with the Pope (Leo X) a "*concordat*," or treaty, whereby certain payments which France had for nearly a century refused to the papacy were again to be made, while, on the other hand, the nomination of all high ecclesiastical officials was left in the hands of the King. The Pope thus got an increase of wealth, but the King of France a large accession of power. In essentials this concordat governed the relations of the Monarchy and Church in France to the papacy until the end of the eighteenth century.

But now the situation was entirely changed by the appearance of a new combatant and a new combination against France.

In 1519 the death of the Emperor Maximilian removed that strange and interesting but wholly ineffective figure from the politics of Europe. The empire was elective, and the question of the succession was felt to be a difficult one. It was rendered all the more difficult by the religious fermentation which had begun to be great in Germany. The empire had for centuries been in the hands of men of German stock, but there was no constitutional reason why men of other races should be excluded, and Francis I was encouraged to put himself forward as a candidate. The rival candidate was Charles, King of Spain, the grandson of Maximilian and of Mary of Burgundy, who inherited, therefore, not only the territories of Spain, but also the Burgundian lands.

and the vast possessions of the house of Hapsburg The chances of Francis I were increased by the fact that men felt that if Charles were elected the balance of power in Europe would be entirely upset by the rise of a power greater than any which Europe had known, at least since the days of Charlemagne An eager campaign of bribery was conducted by the two candidates, but, when the matter came to a decision in 1519, Charles was elected without difficulty, and reigned as the Emperor Charles V

It was generally anticipated that the rivalry between the two men would lead to war—for wars in the sixteenth century were fought more readily and with a smaller sense of responsibility than they are now There was on both sides eager search for alliances, and England was induced to throw her weight upon the side of Charles V Hostilities began in 1522, but the first

War
between
Francis
I and
Charles V

decisive incident came in 1525. Francis then invaded Italy, hoping to repeat his triumphs of ten years earlier He laid siege to Pavia, and victory seemed in sight But then there came from Germany a fresh army which was commanded by the Duke of Bourbon, the last of the independent feudal nobles of France, who had at this juncture rebelled against his king In the battle which followed, Francis I was completely defeated, and in the end had to

Battle
of Pavia,
1525

surrender his sword and his person to the enemy "Nothing was saved," he said in a famous letter, "except life and honour" He was taken as a prisoner to Spain, and in 1526 was forced to sign the treaty of Madrid, whereby much French territory was surrendered and the prestige of France seemed hopelessly ruined

But the very magnitude of the victory of Charles again brought into existence a league of European powers against him, and financial difficulties prevented him from driving home the blow and completely prostrating his enemy France repudiated the treaty of Madrid on the ground that it was obtained by compulsion, and that the King of France was not able to surrender French territory without the concurrence of the States-General The war began again There came, in 1527, a famous incident, though not one that had any direct influence upon the course of the war between Francis and Charles The

army of Charles was in Italy victorious but unpaid, it mutinied in consequence, as armies often did in the sixteenth century, and determined to pay itself by the plunder of one of the rich towns of Italy. An attempt upon Florence failed, and then the mutinous troops struck for Rome. They found the city weakly defended. The Pope (Clement VII) fell into their hands, and the city was plundered with a ferocious thoroughness that it had never experienced at the hands of Visigoth, Vandal, Lombard, or Frank. The incident has a great importance for English history, for Clement VII was now a prisoner in the hands of Charles V, and was not able therefore to deal with Henry VIII's petition for the annulling of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon in an independent spirit. Out from that incident came the Reformation in England. But upon the struggle between Francis and Charles, the sack of Rome had no decisive influence, and the war from this time dragged on with occasional intervals of peace and presents us with no incidents so striking as the battles of Fornovo, Marignano and Pavia. It will only be necessary to mark the chief stages. Let us note, however, that from this time onwards the Reformation in Germany became an important influence upon the fortunes of the war. Whenever Charles was free for a time from war with France, he usually turned to deal with his religious opponents in Germany, and Francis, on the other hand, again and again, Catholic though he was, entered into negotiations with the German Protestants in order to stir up difficulties for his great antagonist. Had it not been for the German troubles France would probably have been overthrown, and had it not been for the French war, it is difficult to see how Protestantism could have survived in Germany.

A Peace was patched up at Cambrai in 1529, which lasted with difficulty for some seven years. But in 1536 the duchy of Milan fell vacant, and was claimed by both Charles and Francis. War came again, but it was not fought with anything like the old vigour and intensity, and in 1538 was brought to an end by the truce of Nice, whereby hostilities were to be suspended for ten years, and each of the combatants was to hold what he had won. This peace, however, lasted only for four years, and in

1542 war came again, and again a dispute as to the duchy of Milan which Charles had conferred upon his son Philip was the excuse if not the cause of the war. The French gained further victories upon Italian soil, but the interests of the great rivals elsewhere in Europe prevented the war from being pushed on in the peninsula, and in 1544 the peace of Crespy was made, by which each party was again left in possession of his conquests.

In 1547 Francis I died and was succeeded by his son, Henry II, and the war between France and the Spanish-Austrian power was from this time ever more and more closely connected with the Protestant movement in Germany. It will, however, for the sake of clearness be well to follow it through its main stages until something like a permanent peace was reached. War came in 1550 as a result of German complications, and Henry II of France, an eager Catholic and persecutor in his own country, readily joined hands with the Protestant leaders. Charles V suffered a severe disaster in Germany to which we shall refer again in the next chapter, but it seemed for a time as though he would be able to compensate this loss by a great victory on the French frontier. He laid siege to the city of Metz which was in the hands of the French, and victory seemed assured. But partly the inclemency of the season, and still more the arrival of a new French army, changed his hopes into despair and forced him to draw off with heavy loss. It was the last military incident of his reign. Broken in health, weary and disappointed, he determined to abdicate the various crowns and governments which he held, and to retire for the repose of his soul into a Spanish monastery. He had hoped at one time to hand over the whole of his vast territories to his son Philip, but resistance in Germany made this impossible. His brother Ferdinand succeeded to the Imperial title and the Austrian territories, while Philip inherited the vast possessions of Spain in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in the New World. It was Philip, therefore, who carried on the war after the withdrawal of his father into the monastery of Yuste, from which he watched with eager anxiety the course of the European war. Philip gained important victories the French

were beaten in Italy, and in 1557 they were crushed in the north of France in the great battle of Saint Quentin. So decisive was the victory that Charles V, from his retreat, eagerly looked for news that his son had arrived in Paris. This, however, was not to be, and the war closed with a French victory, for in 1558 Calais was captured from England, which, through the marriage of Queen Mary to Philip, had been brought into an alliance with Spain. In 1559 a really important peace was made, the peace of Cateau Cambrésis. By this the Spaniards retained their hold upon Italy both Milan and Naples were recognized as belonging to them. Julius II had said that the French in Italy were a weed that could easily be plucked up and thrown away, but that the Spanish power was a plant which struck deep and irremovable roots, and the issue showed that he was right. Italy passed under the dominion of foreigners. There were many who bitterly deplored the result. Machiavelli had written of her earlier in the century that she was "without head, without order, beaten, despoiled, torn, overrun," and that "she had endured every kind of desolation." "To all of us," he had said, "the barbarous dominion stinks." But three centuries would have to pass before there was sufficient unity and public spirit in Italy to achieve her liberation from the "barbarous" yoke. France had made some important gains. The three great bishoprics of the north-east, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, were ceded to France, and these led, a couple of centuries later, to the occupation by France of the whole of Lorraine. Finally, it was arranged that Philip, whose wife, Mary of England, had just died, should marry Elizabeth of France, and it was hoped that the two great powers would now stand on relations of firm amity.

The peace is a really important one. It did not indeed bring about the alliance between France and Spain that was hoped for, and for a century and a half yet the hostility of these two countries was a permanent and decisive influence in all the diplomacy of Europe. The struggles between France and Spain, from 1500 to 1700, deserve as well to be called the "Two Hundred Years' War," as the contest between England and

France at an earlier time deserves the title of the "Hundred Years' War" France and Spain, then, were still to be enemies But from this time on the religious struggle plays an ever more influential part in the relations of the great powers The period of the Italian wars was over the period of the religious wars was about to begin, and may be taken as lasting from the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis to the still more important treaty of Westphalia which came in the year 1648

From this point onwards the *Cambridge Modern History* becomes a valuable book of reference Dyer's *Modern Europe*, edited by Hassall Lord Acton's *Lectures on Modern History* are always stimulating and picturesque For the events of this chapter the great French historians all give a vigorous narrative Michelet is particularly picturesque but partisan Grant's *French Monarchy* (2 vols) Armstrong's *Life of Charles the Fifth* (2 vols) is an admirable guide through the intricate events dealt with in this and the next chapter *Spain its Greatness and Decay*, by Martin Hume, with valuable introductory chapters by Armstrong Machiavelli's *Prince* may be read here, as an acute commentary on the subjugation of Italy by "barbarian" powers

CHAPTER II

The Reformation in Germany

Two years after the battle of Marignano an obscure event in Germany marked the beginning of a movement which was destined to have greater consequences for Europe even than the Italian Wars For it was in 1517 that Luther first threw down the gauntlet in his life-long struggle with papal claims and the power of the Catholic Church

Luther was born of peasant stock, and had worked his way up through many trials to the professorship of Theology in the recently founded University of Wittenberg Luther. He was a monk of the Augustinian order, and he had studied deeply the Bible in the Vulgate translation, and the writings of St Augustine, which have often been so perilous to orthodox Catholicism He had been for nine years professor

at Wittenberg and nothing had hitherto occurred to show that he was likely to play any great part in controversy. But in 1517 there came into his neighbourhood a papal emissary named Tetzel, whose business it was to sell indulgences for the building of the new Cathedral of St Peter's at Rome, the vast Renaissance temple which was to rise where the early-medieval church had stood. The theory of indulgences is an extremely intricate and one, and a defence for the practice can perhaps be made out but for the actions of Tetzel, no defence is possible. He told the ignorant peasants who gathered round him that for the money they paid him they would receive assurance of the escape of friends and relations from the fires of Purgatory. To many it must have seemed that he was selling the power to commit sin with impunity. There had been much criticism already of the moral abuses connected with the selling of indulgences. Luther's challenge spirit burnt within him, until in October, 1517, he published, by fastening upon the Cathedral door at Wittenberg, ninety-five theses or contentions against indulgences, which he declared himself ready to support by argument.

The incident did not seem at first a very remarkable one. From Huss and from Wycliffe there had come much more direct and fundamental challenges to the papal power than this, and yet the movement of Wycliffe and Huss had died away or had been crushed down, while the movement which Luther quite unconsciously was inaugurating was destined to win a large measure of victory and to become a permanent force in European society. To understand this, it will be necessary to cast a glance upon the condition of Germany and of Europe. For the religious movement which, to begin with, was a perfectly simple and straightforward matter, was soon complicated by connection with the social and political condition of Germany and the international relations of the great powers of Europe. The Lutheran movement fought its way to the measure of victory which it won through intrigue, political rivalries, diplomacy, civil and international wars, which fill up the course of the next century.

Forces
working
in favour
of the Re-
formation

To begin with we must repeat what we have said in the preceding chapter, that in 1519, Charles, King of Spain, and heir to the Burgundian possessions, was elected to be Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. He was Charles V not one of the world's great rulers, and neither as soldier nor as statesman does he rank along with the great formative forces of European history. He was, and even still is, regarded by some as one of the evil forces of the time—a bitter and subtle enemy of Protestantism and evangelical truth. But an unbiassed study of his character, position, and policy leads to a different conclusion. He ruled over an enormous empire, the greatest that had been known since the days of Charlemagne, and this empire was divided into a large number of units each independent of the other, each requiring a separate political and diplomatic treatment. The seventeen states of the Netherlands over which he ruled each had a constitution of its own. In Spain, Castille, Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia had each separate constitutions and parliaments. His possessions in Italy were also independent of difficulties, Spain and of one another. The problem that was failure, and always before him was how to bring these vast and success varied possessions of his into some sort of unity, to maintain order and peace and to advance the prosperity of his different lands. His failure in Germany must not blind us to the fact that his reign was marked by many successes. He introduced a better and more humane system of government into the vast colonial possessions of Spain in America, he did much to weaken the power of the Mahomedans upon the north coast of Africa, he made some advance towards the unification of his possessions in the Netherlands. His failure in Germany was complete, but even there his aims cannot be altogether condemned. He was himself by temperament, conviction, and education, as well as by interest, a strong Catholic. For the religious issues at stake in the Lutheran movement he had no sympathy and little understanding, but he tried during the whole of his reign to prevent the Lutheran movement from leading to further disorder in Germany, and to give to Germany, in spite of its religious difficulties, the united and settled order which all German patriots desired. In religious matters he

was very far from being a fanatic. He hoped that with time the Lutheran movement would die down. He trusted to reach some condition of peace by means of compromise, and he looked especially to some great Church council like the Councils of Constance or of Basel to find a way out from the fierce religious contests of the time.

If we ask ourselves what were the circumstances which favoured the victory of the Lutheran movement we may

The sum them up in the following way. We must, in
influence the first place, lay stress upon the character and
of Luther genius of Luther himself. He was possessed of

invincible courage and great power of inspiring his followers with his own ardent faith. A large section of the people of Germany came to believe that under the guidance of Luther they had attained to a knowledge of the pure truth, which had so long been hidden beneath the corruptions and superstitions of the Catholic Church, that if this truth were preached abroad, all the world would accept it, and that it could only be resisted by stupidity or greed. So there arose in Germany that vision of a better future, in religion, in politics, and social life, which is the greatest of revolutionary forces. In the attempts to attain that vision disappointments soon came, but the movement cannot be understood unless we realize the earnestness and strength of the hopes which were entertained by so many. But, further, we must note that the political conditions of Germany were favourable to the growth of the new movement.

The divi- Germany had ceased to be a political unity. It
sions of was in name an empire, but in reality it was a
Germany federation of almost independent states, which
allowed of no interference from any central authority. The emperor could not, without the permission of the leading German states, raise taxes, collect an army, or make war, and this permission was extremely difficult to obtain. It is true that Charles V ruled over many territories where he was not embarrassed by such constitutional difficulties. There was no other part of his vast territories, indeed, where his authority was so weak as in most of the states of Germany, and had he been free from other tasks he might have collected a large army from Spain, from Italy, from the Netherlands, from

Austria, and with them he might have overwhelmed his Lutheran opponents. But the position of Charles V allowed of no such direct action. We have seen how during a large part of his career he was engaged in wars with France. He had troubles in the Netherlands. Spain was not always passively loyal. He made great expeditions against the Mohamedan powers of Northern Africa. In Austria, which was ruled over by his brother Ferdinand as regent, he had to face a constant and terrible threat of Turkish invasion, and it was therefore very rarely and at long intervals that he found his hands free enough to undertake the coercion of his enemies in Germany. It is to be noted, too, that, apart from the religious attraction and force of the Lutheran movement, it appealed also strongly to large sections of Germany as a national movement against the foreigner. Germany was not indeed a nation as England, France, and Spain were nations, but there was a strong sense of dislike for foreign interference in German affairs. Charles was disliked as a Spaniard, the Pope as an Italian, and Luther gained a considerable part of his following because he claimed that Germany should be for the Germans. So Lutheranism was strong by reason of the strength of its own convictions, and at the same time it was protected, especially during its early stages, by the impossibility of bringing the lumbering constitution of the empire to any decisive action, and by the manifold engagements and difficulties in which Charles V was involved. It is a striking fact that for thirty years the Protestant movement in Germany developed without having to face direct military opposition. There was constant talk of interference; the new movement was denounced by diets of the empire, but the sword was not definitely drawn from its sheath against the new faith until Luther's own eyes were closed in death.

Luther's protest in 1517 was against the doctrine of indulgences only; but very soon, and almost in spite of himself, the struggle began to be fought out on wider issues. Luther found that his differences with Rome were more fundamental than he had at first believed. He found that his ideas had

close similarity to those of Huss and Wycliffe, that some part of them had been condemned by the Council of Constance, and yet he refused to retract. He thus became the leader of an assault upon the papal authority and the very basis of the organization of the Catholic Church. In 1520 the Pope, Leo X, issued against him a Bull of excommunication. But it failed to shake Luther's courage or to withdraw from him the support of the people, and the Elector of Saxony. He solemnly burnt it in the market square at Wittenberg, and burnt along with it the volumes of the Canon Law. In 1521 Charles V came into Germany to preside over a Diet of the Empire at Worms. There was much other business, but the one point of real importance was the treatment of Luther. He was summoned to attend, and the emperor gave him a safe conduct. There were many who advised him not to go, and warned him that the safe conduct would be violated, as it had been in the case of Huss, but Luther faced the gathering of the potentates of Germany at Worms, confessed to the authorship of his works, and refused to retract. "Here I stand," he said, "I can do no otherwise, so help me God." He was thereupon put to the Ban of the Empire, but he was protected by his friend, the Elector of Saxony, and was taken in disguise to the great castle of the Wartburg and remained there in concealment for some time. He occupied himself with his translation of the Bible into German, a work which has played in the development of German language and literature as great a part as the Version of 1611 has played in the history of England.

In 1522 another Diet was called at Nuremberg, and it was hoped now that the condemnation of Luther at Worms would lead to effective action. But the emperor was occupied by Italian and other troubles, and the Diet refused to act in the sense which he desired. Instead it drew up a statement of German grievances against the papacy, and the movement thus became almost a national one.

Soon after this, however, another and a very important force entered into the religious development of Germany. The political condition of the country favoured, as we have seen,

the development of Lutheranism, but it was not so with the social condition. The peasants, especially in the west and south-west of Germany, had their own bitter grievances. The country generally was in a high condition of prosperity, and the towns and the middle class were rapidly advancing in comfort and even in luxury. But the peasants, meanwhile, had remained stationary, or were actually worse off than they had been half a century before. Their condition was one of serfdom, they had to pay their feudal superiors forced labour of various kinds. It is possible that a great number of them were better off than wage earners under modern industrial conditions, but their condition was a very irritating one, and economic changes in Germany had of late made it rather worse than better. The religious movement encouraged by Luther excited them dangerously. The liberty of which Luther spoke seemed to them to promise some change in their own social conditions. They broke out into rebellion, especially in the south-west, in the neighbourhood of Wurzburg, and they put out their demands in twelve articles. They claimed, as Luther claimed for his religious changes, that their demands should be regarded in the light of scripture. They said that they should no longer be bondsmen, because Christ had made them free, and they demanded the immediate abolition of the many feudal burdens which pressed so heavily upon them. They demanded, too, the abolition of tithes, and asked for instruction in the real truths of the Gospel. These demands were accompanied by a wild agitation which broke out into civil war (1524). Atrocities were committed on both sides, though far greater cruelty was exercised in the repression of the rebellion than by the rebels themselves. Luther saw the rising with alarm. It seemed to him to complicate and to endanger the victory of his own religious movement, and he spoke and wrote against the peasants with vigour and even with ferocity. He called upon the nobles to repress the rising with the utmost energy, and seemed even to sanction measures of cruelty. The movement failed, as it was bound to do, and the subsequent similar outbreak in the north of Germany failed.

Outbreak
of the
Peasants'
War

Influence of
Lutheran-
ism on the
peasants

Civil war

also, but it was not without permanent influence upon the religious movement. The peasants had appealed to Luther, and they had got from him not help but opposition. From this time forward the Lutheran movement was no longer the widely popular thing that it had been at first. Luther lost his position as popular leader, and his movement lost its hold upon great masses of the poorest population. From this time on he had to rely more upon the middle classes and upon the established authorities, and thus Lutheranism began to adopt that policy of dependence upon the authority of the state, which characterized it and influenced it henceforth.

Meanwhile, the Imperial authority had done nothing for the suppression of Lutheranism. In 1526 a Diet was called at Speier, but no general result was reached. It was declared that the responsibility rested upon each of the various states of Germany. Each one, said the Diet, was so to live, rule, and conduct itself as he should be ready to answer to God and his Imperial Majesty. The strongest supporters of Lutheranism, especially Saxony and Hesse, interpreted this edict by setting up definite Protestant Churches within their own dominions. In 1529 another Diet at Speier reversed the decision of the first

Origin of
the word
Protes-
tantism

and decided that the Edict of Worms was still binding, and that further innovations in religion should not be permitted. The minority thereupon issued a declaration in which these words occurred: "We hereby *protest* to you that we cannot and may not concur therein, but hold the resolution null and not binding." It is this protest which ultimately gave to the movement the name of Protestantism, which has clung to it in its various forms ever since. In 1530 the movement acquired greater solidity by the adoption of a definite Lutheran creed. This was the confession of Augsburg, in which Lutheran opinions were expressed in a definite, but at the same time, moderate and conciliatory form. But the emperor at once

The
League of
Schmal-
kalden

denounced this new creed, and threatened reprisals against all who would not return to the Catholic fold. Hence in 1531 there came the League of Schmalkalden in which all Protestant powers joined together for the defence of their common interests. The

chief names in this league were Saxony, Hesse, and Brandenburg. But although the formation of the league was a very definite challenge to the Imperial authority, thirteen more years were to pass before the emperor found himself free enough to draw his sword against this avowed enemy. For during this time he was occupied with his Italian policy, and the Turks were again threatening a dangerous incursion into Germany along the line of the Danube. It was necessary, therefore, to abstain from war against his German opponents which would itself require all his energy, and he accepted for the time a system of compromise. It was not until 1544 that he felt his hands really free. He made in that year a peace with the King of France, and he was also for the moment free from any complications with the Turks. The spread of the new movement in Germany showed him that it was fully time to strike. Wurtemberg and Baden had declared for Protestantism, and there was a great danger that even the Archbishop of Cologne would pass over to the same side. In 1546 Charles collected a large army and prepared for war. Luther died at the beginning of this year and did not therefore see the actual outbreak of the civil war that he had always feared and deprecated. The early religious enthusiasm was dying down, and in this hour of crisis the Protestant states by no means stood firmly by one another. At the first movement of the Imperial army various of the Protestant states of the south yielded to the emperor. He had already been joined by Maurice, Duke of Saxony, who was brought over to his side by jealousy of his cousin, the Elector of Saxony, and the hope of winning from the emperor the electoral title and power. The chief burden of resistance was borne by John Battle Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and Philip, the of Muhl-Landgrave of Hesse, and neither of them was a berg man of energy or military ability. The decisive battle came in 1547 at Muhlberg on the Elbe. Imperial troops under the direction of the emperor himself, his Spanish General, Alva, and Maurice of Saxony crossed the river, defeated their opponents, and captured both the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. It was a great victory, though not a great battle, and it seemed for the moment as though Europe

were at the emperor's feet. Neither in Germany nor out of Germany was there any power capable for the moment of making serious resistance to him. He attempted to settle the religious question in a manner which does credit to his moderation. A Diet was called at Augsburg, and there "the Interim" was issued. A general Church council had already been called at Trent, and it was hoped that its deliberations would be accepted by all Christendom. But meanwhile some arrangement must be made, and this was "the Interim" (1548). The document began by affirming the necessity of continuing the old Catholic practices—the frequent celebration of the Mass, prayers for the dead, the practice of fasting, the observation of the great holy days of the Church. But in its last clause it made considerable concessions to Protestantism: priests who had taken to themselves wives were not to be compelled to put them away again, those who had grown accustomed to taking the communion "under two kinds" were not to be forced to change their practice, until the Ecumenical Council of Trent had given its verdict on these crucial questions. It was a well-meaning attempt, and Melancthon, the greatest of the Protestant leaders now that Luther was dead, accepted it; but it was not generally accepted in Germany. The Catholic states were not willing to give their Protestant subjects the toleration which it implied, and many Protestant states refused to allow the organization of the Catholic Church to be set up again within their bounds. The emperor might have forced his will through in the end, but there came a great change in the international situation, and Protestantism profited by the change.

In the first place, Maurice of Saxony, who had contributed so much to the victory of Muhlberg, was irritated with the emperor. He had not got all the territories that he had hoped, and his influence with the emperor was not so great as he had expected. He was a restless and ambitious character, and he began to think of other schemes for advancing his interests. Further, between Charles and his brother Ferdinand, who ruled over the Austrian territories, relations were at this moment rather strained.

Ferdinand had gained in 1526 an immense accession of prestige, if not exactly of power. For in that year the Turks had poured into Hungary and had won the great battle of Mohacz. It was in its results one of the most important battles of the century. Hungary and Bohemia were overwhelmed by the Turkish power, and Vienna itself was in danger. The King of Bohemia and Hungary had been slain in the battle, and Ferdinand his brother-in-law now claimed the inheritance. It was an inheritance that had to be won before it could be enjoyed, but from this time on Bohemia and Hungary were claimed as possessions of the Hapsburgs, and they have proved to be among the most valuable of all the possessions of that family. The modern history of Austria depends upon this great battle and its results.

Charles V, after the Interim, was concerned with the succession of the Imperial throne. Ferdinand had been recognized already as his immediate successor, but Charles was anxious to procure for his son Philip—afterwards the famous Philip II of Spain—the right to succeed to the empire upon the death of Ferdinand. He would by this means have prolonged indefinitely the vast power which his house had acquired in Europe. But Ferdinand in the interest of his own family resisted this plan and was not at this moment ready to co-operate heartily with the emperor. But more serious even than the defection of Maurice and the jealousy of Ferdinand was the interference of France. Henry II was reigning there, and he was now eager to take up again the struggle against the Spanish-Austrian power. He entered into relations with Maurice and the Protestant leaders, he procured from them the promise that the three great frontier bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, should be ceded to France in return for French assistance to the Protestant movement. Charles V was ill, and was no longer the astute and watchful statesman that he had at one time been. He was taken by surprise when, in 1552, Maurice of Saxony raised the standard against him. He lost the position that he had won in Germany almost without striking a blow. He fled to Innsbruck, and there very

Difficulties of Charles after the Interim

nearly fell into the hands of his enemies With difficulty he escaped over the snow-covered passes of the Tyrol into Italy

Flight of Charles from Germany (1552) Thus at a blow his whole position was lost, and Maurice seemed master of Germany Historians have speculated as to the real end of the aims and ambitions of Maurice, and as to the part which he would have played if his life had been prolonged But he fell in 1553 in an obscure combat, and Germany was left in confusion without any master or any predominant influence Charles had some hopes of regaining the power he had lost It was the King of France who had really humiliated him, and it was against France that he directed another blow He laid siege to the town of Metz he believed that he was certain to win it If it had fallen his own strength would have been vastly increased, and a road would have been opened to the resumption of his German plans but as he said, fortune loved the young rather than the old, and the city of Metz was unexpectedly saved by the Duke of Guise

Charles was weary of the burden of government, and as we have already seen, determined to abdicate He threw upon his brother Ferdinand, therefore, the settlement of the difficulties in Germany A Diet was called at Augsburg which may be taken as marking the end of the first great stage of the Reformation struggle Its chief terms were as follows In the first place, all attempts were abandoned to force a uniform religious settlement upon Germany Each state—and it must be remembered that there were over three hundred states in Germany—was made responsible for the religion of its own territory There was thus no general system of toleration for the individual, but as emigration was allowed, it was possible for a man who professed a religion different from that of his state, to move across the frontiers into some more favourable locality Next, only two forms of religion were to be recognized in Germany The states upon which the responsibility was thrown must choose between Lutheranism and Catholicism “All such as do not belong to these two religions shall not be included in the present peace,

but shall be 'totally excluded from it' For the moment the danger involved in this decision was not apparent, but already there had arisen another form of Protestantism in Germany—Calvinism—and this was gaining a hold in various parts of the country stronger than that which was possessed by Lutheranism, and according to this clause of the Peace of Augsburg, Calvinists and Calvinism had no place in Germany Out from this clause were to come constant difficulties, and ultimately the great Thirty Years' War The only other clause to which we need direct attention was that which was concerned with the condition of the ecclesiastical states of Germany which had accepted Protestantism There was a great temptation to the heads of ecclesiastical states to accept the new faith, for by accepting it they became temporal sovereigns, capable of passing on their positions to their descendants, instead of life tenants for the Catholic Church But the ecclesiastical states of Germany were so many and their territories so wide that it was a matter of the utmost importance to decide what exactly should be done with those ecclesiastical states which declared themselves Protestant The Catholic demand was that all of them should be restored to the Church, and that no bishop or archbishop, by the changing of his own faith, should be allowed to alienate his territories from the Church The Protestant view was that such changes as had taken place in the past should be accepted, and that similar changes should be possible in the future In the Peace of Augsburg a compromise was effected It was declared that all ecclesiastical states which had become Protestant before 1552 should remain in the hands of their Protestant rulers, but that no further secularization should be allowed, and that any which had declared for Protestantism since 1552 should be restored to the Catholic Church Such are the chief clauses of the Peace of Augsburg Germany was weary of the long controversy, religious enthusiasms were no longer so vivid as they had been a quarter of a century before, the new arrangements were accepted without any great protest But for Germany as for Europe, the religious contest was far from having reached its end, and the very clauses of the well-meant Peace of

Augsburg themselves were destined to form the occasion of the fierce religious war which was to break out in Germany at the beginning of the next century

Ranke, *German History in the Period of the Reformation* Landsay, *Luther and the German Reformation* Köstlin, *Life of Luther* Hausser, *Era of the Reformation* Armstrong, *Life of Charles V* Seeböhm, *The Protestant Revolution* Kidd's *Documents of the Continental Revolution* are of the utmost value for the Reformation, both in Germany and other European states

CHAPTER III

The Religious Movements of the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

WHEN Luther nailed his theses to the cathedral door of Wittenberg, the issue seemed to him at first a simple one. He protested against the abuses of the Roman Church, he appealed from the practice and the tradition of Rome to the authority of the scriptures, in which he saw the final court of appeal, and it seemed to him that the conclusion at which he arrived would be reached by any one who considered the question candidly and with knowledge. But the Lutheran movement had not proceeded far before it was evident that the question was by no means so simple as it had seemed at first. Religion was so linked with every phase of the life of men that the disturbance in religion produced, in spite of Luther, corresponding disturbances in political and in social matters, which in their turn influenced and endangered the progress of Lutheranism itself. Moreover, before Luther's death it was plain that the conclusions which he had reached in theological matters would not necessarily be accepted even by those who, like himself, denounced the corruptions of the Roman Church and looked to the Bible for their beliefs.

In 1518 the reformer Zwingli began his work in Zurich in Switzerland. He began like Luther by denouncing the practice of indulgences. A large portion of Switzerland followed his lead,

and broke away from obedience to Rome. His movement was for a time in harmony with that of Luther, but when he began to define his opinions on theology and upon the Zwingli government of the Church, serious differences and Luther soon showed themselves. In Church government his ideas were much more democratic than those of Luther, as the people among whom he lived were much more democratic in their political organization than the inhabitants of the German states. But the most important difference between Zwingli and Luther concerned the Communion. Luther had rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, but he asserted a doctrine which he called "consubstantiation." The Bread and Wine of the Communion service, he said, remained bread and wine still. But along with them there was, after the ceremony of consecration, a new element, which entered into them "as fire into iron when it was heated." But Zwingli protested against consubstantiation as well as against transubstantiation, and he regarded the Communion service as a commemorative ceremony only. Efforts were made to bring the two great reformers into harmony, but in vain. The words "This is my body" seemed to Luther absolutely to preclude Zwingli's interpretation. He denounced him as an enemy of the truth, and the followers of these two Protestant leaders were destined never to form any complete union.

Before Luther's death another Protestant movement had begun in an obscure quarter of the empire, which was destined to much greater importance than that of Zwingli. Calvin was born in the north of France in the year 1509, and he was at first destined for the priesthood. He studied theology for a short time at Paris, but then, abandoning the idea of the priesthood, went to Orleans to study law. Here, in 1533, he tells us that his mind was turned by a sudden conversion to a new faith. He accepted Protestantism, though as yet in no definite form. Religious persecution was hot in France, and he therefore left it and lived for a time in the towns of the Rhine. At Basel he wrote his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," and in 1536 he came to Geneva. Geneva was nominally a city of the empire, but authority in it was really disputed between its bishop and the

Duke of Savoy The people of Geneva, in alliance with their neighbours of Bern and Freiburg, had risen up against both duke and bishop, they had declared themselves Protestant, and in 1536 had sworn to live "according to the holy evangelical law and the word of God" Shortly after this, Calvin arrived at Geneva He was induced to remain there, and although expelled in 1538, he soon returned, and resided in Geneva to the time of his death Because of his residence there, Geneva became one of the most important cities of Europe, and, by the authority which Calvin exercised over many countries, it seemed for a time almost to balance the authority of Rome

Calvinism is distinguished from other Protestant movements of the time chiefly by three features (1) According to Calvin's scheme, the Church and the State were to be separate, there was to be no such direction of the Church by the State, as was the case with the Lutheran Church of Germany during the latter part of Luther's life, or as was established in England by Henry VIII (2) The government of the Church, according to Calvin's ideas, was to be in the hands of a body in which laymen and ministers were both to take a share This governing body of the Church was called a Consistory, and it was composed of six ministers and of twelve lay elders, and in their hands lay the chief share of the government of the Church (3) Calvinism was further distinguished by the insistence upon a strict moral discipline The opponents of Lutheranism said of it that it led rather to looseness of life and conduct than to any improvement upon the morals of Catholicism But looseness could certainly not be charged against Calvinism The whole of Geneva, when his system had been adopted, was submitted to a strict moral censorship and direction emanating nominally from the Consistory, but, as a matter of fact, directed by Calvin himself, so that John Knox, perhaps the greatest of Calvin's disciples, wrote that though the Gospel of Christ was professed elsewhere, nowhere was the Christian life practised as it was in Geneva

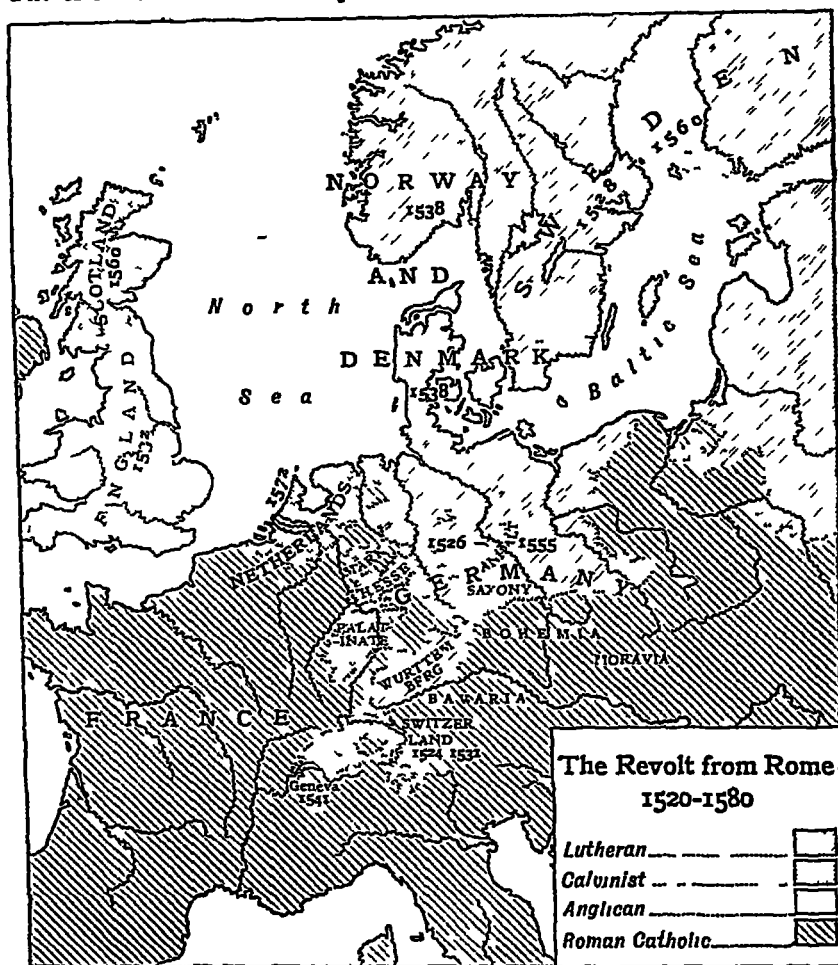
Calvinism stood apart both from Zwinglianism and from Lutheranism Calvin's "Institutes of the Christian Religion"

was the great basis upon which first the Church in Geneva and then other Presbyterian Churches in Europe were built up. It is a system of theology worked out with Calvin's rigid, logical accuracy, and resting upon the "Institutes" doctrine of predestination. Though there was much in it that would have been accepted by the followers of Luther and of Zwingli, Calvin took upon the matter of the Communion a line different from either of the other reformers. He did not, like Zwingli, regard it as a merely commemorative ceremony, but he rejected entirely Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation. He refused to recognize anything miraculous or supernatural in the elements themselves, but the ceremony, he held, was no mere commemoration, but a necessary means of grace. There were other differences, but this was sufficient to separate the Calvinists from the Lutherans, and when Calvinism had spread widely in Germany, to introduce into that unhappy land the schism in the Protestant camp which led subsequently to the Thirty Years' War. Calvin translated the Bible into French, and his translation, like that of Luther, had a powerful influence upon his own and upon the next generation. He was himself a man of wide classical learning, but he had little sympathy with the artistic and humanistic movements of the time. Geneva, while he lived and for some time afterwards, was controlled by a rigid discipline. There is hardly such another instance in modern times of the life of a people being prescribed and enforced by a higher authority. The pleasures of Geneva were submitted to a strict censorship. It was laid down by the authorities what dishes might be served at meals, what presents might be given at weddings, and on some few occasions the rigour of Calvin proceeded to terrible extremities. One of his religious opponents in Geneva was put to death, and when the Spaniard Servetus came to Geneva, hoping to find there protection, because he had challenged the doctrines of the Church of Rome, he found, on the contrary, bitter opposition because his views were not the views of Calvin and his Church, and, after a trial in which Calvin personally took part, he was sentenced to death and burned outside the walls of the city.

This and other acts of cruelty must not blind us to the importance of Calvinism for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It gave to Protestantism a clear and rigidly defined theology, it inspired Protestants with a devotion and an enthusiasm greater than anything which, towards the end of the sixteenth century, could be found among the Lutherans, and even its social discipline, though it may seem to us exaggerated and sometimes absurd, served to steel the temper of its adherents, and to make of the Calvinists of Europe the great fighting force, the forlorn hope of Protestantism, the body which carried on resistance to its religious opponents when life had gone from Lutheranism. It was the Calvinists of France who nearly brought Protestantism to victory there, it was the Calvinists who created the free Dutch Republic in the Netherlands, and made Scotland a force in Europe, it was Calvinism which gave to Protestantism in England a great deal of its energy and went far to create the Puritan movement of the seventeenth century.

While Protestantism was thus changing its character, and developing a new organization, a vast change also was passing over the Roman Catholic Church. The popes of the first half of the sixteenth century had been immersed in the politics of Italy, and had been more concerned with the Renaissance and with the progress of art than with the spiritual tasks which were their proper province. The first stages of the Protestant movement were regarded with little concern. Pope Clement VII, indeed, was sometimes in half alliance with the Lutherans because he was in open hostility with the emperor, Charles V. But the rapid spread of Protestantism soon made this indifference impossible. When three-quarters of Germany had fallen away, when France and Holland were deeply infected with the new heresy, when England had snapped the bonds which connected her with Rome, when Denmark, Sweden, and Norway had accepted Lutheranism, when the new doctrine had secured crowds of adherents in Poland and Bohemia, and even Italy itself was not altogether free from it, then, indeed, the magnitude of the danger awakened the Church of Rome to the real urgency of

action, and the second half of the century shows us popes of a very different character from those of the first half. They pursued a policy which sometimes contributed to the spread of literature or to the architectural decoration of Rome, but their chief interest lay in the defence of their faith against



Emery Walker sc

The Revolt from Rome

their Protestant opponents, and before the end of the century the tide of Protestantism had ceased to flow, and the leaders of Catholicism were able to carry their warfare into the enemies' camp. They won back large territories to the Roman obedience, and cherished the hope of winning back all. This is the

movement which is known as the Counter Reformation or the Roman Catholic Reaction

The chief agency in this momentous change is to be found in the Jesuit order. We have seen how the Church almost from the beginning had owed some of its greatest order victories to the various special orders which had arisen from time to time. The Benedictines, the Cluniacs, the Cistercians, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans had all left their mark upon the history of the Church, but none of them are more important or have left more permanent traces than the Jesuits.

Spain was the home of the new movement, and naturally so, for nowhere, so much as in Spain, was Catholicism an aggressive and missionary force. The long struggle with the Moors had made Catholicism in Spain not merely a faith, but a national bond, and the victories which had recently been won against the Moors inspired the Spaniards with a confident and exultant faith. Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde was a Spanish nobleman who had seen a good deal of service in the Spanish armies. He was wounded in the siege of Pampeluna, and upon his recovery was found to be crippled for life. He was an ardent Catholic, and his ideas turned from material to spiritual warfare. It was long, however, before he chose the path which he subsequently followed. He plunged into ascetic religious exercises, he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he fell even under suspicion of heresy. The turning-point in his career was his visit to Paris to study theology. He there attached to himself a few friends of like opinions, and it was at Paris that he and they took the vow that they would go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and would submit themselves absolutely to the guidance of the Pope. But the Turkish power was too strong, and though they reached Venice they could go no further. It was there that the idea of the formation of a new order seems to have suggested itself to Don Inigo, whom we will henceforward call by his later name, Ignatius Loyola. He desired to gather a body of men together who would fight for the Catholic Church with all the courage and all the discipline to which he was accustomed in the army which he had been forced to leave

The Pope regarded this new order at first with some suspicion. It was not until 1540 that a papal Bull allowed of its definite formation. From that time onwards it was one of the most important religious forces of Europe. Founda- Those who joined this order or "company" (for tion of the the latter was the word that Ignatius chose) took Jesuit order. the vows of poverty, of chastity, of obedience, and of special devotion to the Pope. At the head of the order was to be a General, and his authority within the order was supreme. The Jesuits found their closest analogy in the order of the Dominicans, and yet they differed from the Dominicans in many important particulars. They were not to dis- Distinctive tinguish themselves by any special dress, they features of were not to weaken themselves by an extreme the Jesuits asceticism, they were to remain in the world, but they were always to fight for the Church. Ignatius took special care to eradicate from the members of his order any national feeling. The order was to be before all things cosmopolitan, and Germans, English, or French were to serve the Church only, without any regard for the nation from which they had sprung. They looked as the chief means for influencing the world to preaching and to teaching. From the first their schools were important and influential. They offered their The Jesuits teaching freely, and their teaching was in many and Educa- respects the best which was at that time to be tion found in Europe. They secured, therefore, in all countries into which they gained admission, a great hold upon the rising generations, and at the beginning of the next century they were found practically in control of the schools and the Universities of Catholic Europe. They were a body inspired by the most devout enthusiasm, possessed of an unflinching courage, ready to serve the Pope in any way that was suggested to them. They were, it has been said, a sword held over Europe, the hilt of which was always in the Pope's hand, while the point could strike anywhere. It was largely due to their exertions that in France, Germany, and Poland the tide of Protestantism was turned back, and notable assaults were made upon Protestantism in England, Scotland, and elsewhere.

ally Another agency in the Counter Reformation is to be found in the Council of Trent. It had been from the first the idea of Charles V that the Protestant controversy should be settled by the calling together of a great world-wide council of the Church. The popes had resisted the idea, for the summoning of a council was in itself an attack upon the papal monarchy, but the danger was so great, and the influence of Charles V so strong, that in December, 1545, a council was called. The city of Trent was chosen because, though within the political bounds of the German Empire, it was geographically in Italy, and could easily be reached by the Italian bishops, upon whom the Pope counted for the defence of his views in the council. The last sessions were not reached until the year 1563, but before then it had undergone various vicissitudes, it had been moved to Bologna in 1547, it had been suspended in 1549, called together again in 1551, it was suspended in 1552, it was summoned for the last time in 1552, and closed its sessions in 1563.

Charles V had designed the council as a means whereby the secular powers of Europe might force reforms upon the Church. But the result was almost the opposite of that. It was presided over by the legates of the Pope, and nothing could be proposed to the council unless the legates agreed. It was hoped that the council would find some basis of compromise between Lutheranism and Catholicism, so that the Church might be united once more, but this hope was entirely falsified. The Latin translation of the Bible, known as the Vulgate, was declared to be authoritative, and not scripture alone, but also the tradition of the Church, was declared to be the final authority in matters theological. The doctrine of justification by faith upon which Luther laid such stress and which had been accepted by many prominent Catholics, was criticized and rejected, with little consideration of the arguments or the wishes of Protestants—who were not represented except for a very short period in the council. It proceeded to define in orderly fashion the doctrine and to improve the discipline of the Church. In its last sessions the authority

of the Pope in the Church was definitely reaffirmed, and the council, which had seemed at first to be so dangerous a force in the eyes of all papal politicians, ended by strengthening the control of the papacy over every department of the Church.

The council certainly contributed much to the cause of Catholic reaction. It gave to Catholics a definite body of doctrine, it brought to an end the theological disputes which had gone on in their midst. Further, it removed many abuses among the secular and monastic clergy, and it improved and strengthened the government and organization of the Church. It opened up no road to the reunion of Christendom, but it gave Catholicism a much more defensible position and a more effective organization for the struggle.

The results of the Council of Trent.

Another factor in the Counter Reformation must be mentioned—the Inquisition—and of this it is extremely difficult to speak. There had always been some machinery in the Church for the repression of heresy. In the earlier Middle Ages it had been attached to the bishops. In the year 1483 a special Spanish Inquisition had been organized for the suppression of Moorish and Jewish heretics in the Spanish peninsula. Now, in 1542, on the suggestion of Cardinal Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV., a general papal inquisition was set up. By this measure machinery was erected, in all Catholic lands that were willing to receive it, for the examination and for the punishment of heresy. The procedure of the Inquisition has become a by-word for cruelty and injustice, and it can by no means be defended. It can only be said in palliation of it that many of the features of the Inquisition, which are to us most repellent, were at that time common to most of the tribunals of Europe. It used torture for the extraction of evidence, it did not confront the prisoner with the witnesses against him, the very names of the witnesses were usually not communicated to him. If the prisoner was found guilty, he was handed over to the secular arm, that is, to the State, for such punishment as should be agreed upon. In the instructions of the Inquisition in the year 1542 it was specially laid down that there must be no hesitation or delay, that no consideration was to be shown to any prince or prelate, but

special severity was to be shown to those who sheltered themselves behind any high dignitary, and that while there was to be no toleration for heretics, Calvinists were to be singled out for special research and punishment. The Inquisition was entrusted also with the censorship of the press. In some parts of Europe no book could be published without its permission. In 1555 there was drawn up the famous index of forbidden books which no Catholic was allowed to read.

It is certain that the Jesuits and the Council of Trent contributed immensely to the large measure of victory that was won by Catholicism at the end of the sixteenth century. It is not so certain that the Inquisition contributed to that victory at all. It was often perverted to purposes different from its original intention, and in Spain especially it was used almost as much in the interests of the monarchy as in those of the Church. Where it worked with the greatest severity—as in the Netherlands—it exasperated opposition beyond all possibility of compromise or surrender, and by its severities has done much to damage the fair fame of the Church that used it.

Ranke, *History of the Popes* Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*
 Froude, *Lectures on the Council of Trent* Haussier, *Era of the Reformation*
 Dyer, *Life of Calvin* Lea, *History of the Inquisition*
 Mark Pattison, *Essay on Calvin* (in his collected Essays)

CHAPTER IV

Spain and the Netherlands

THE barrier of the Pyrenees isolated Spain from the rest of Europe, and she might have pursued her course with little connection with the rest of the Continent. Her history presents characteristics very different from those of the other European states. We have seen that the struggle with the Mahomedan power of the Moors is the one great influence on her development. Various

Geographical isolation of Spain

Christian states had formed themselves as the Moors were driven back, and for a long time the only unity which these states possessed was to be found in their common devotion to Catholicism. But in the fifteenth century there had arisen in Spain a great movement towards unification and centralization. The two chief kingdoms had been united through the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, and their grandson, Charles I, King of Spain, better known as the Emperor Charles V, ruled over all the peninsula except Portugal. By the end of the fifteenth century Spain had lost her old isolation. She had acquired a claim on Sicily and Naples, and she had linked her fate with that of the Netherlands, when Joanna of Spain married Philip, the son of Mary of Burgundy and of Maximilian of Austria. Spain became the head of a world-wide empire. Her ambition was gratified, and her pride increased; but the vast responsibilities that she thus undertook are among the chief causes of her subsequent downfall.

But we must beware of placing her decline and decay at too early a date. All through the sixteenth and far into the seventeenth century she was a splendid and a powerful state, and the statesmen of Europe thought her even more powerful than she really was. She was supposed to derive endless wealth from "the Indies," as her American possessions were called, the population was kept in real unity by the ardent Catholicism which was the faith of the vast majority, her soldiers counted for a century as the best in Europe, it was a Spanish fleet that had discovered the new world, and Spain had thus the opportunity of establishing a wide commerce. Later experience was to show that there was a drawback to each of these advantages. Her American possessions entailed great cost, and, because of their unwise government, yielded little surplus when the necessary charges were paid, the religious ardour of the people gave free scope to the Inquisition, which crushed freedom of thought, and kept from Spain the influence of the new ideas which were fertilizing the rest of Europe, the vast empire of which she formed a part landed her in endless

wars, which crippled her resources beyond possibility of recovery

The reign of Charles V had been, as we have seen, a failure in Germany, but it was glorious for Spain. The forces of the monarchy had been asserted with success against all rival powers, the Mahomedan and pirate power of Tunis had been crushed, a better system of government had been introduced into the American colonies. In Europe great additions had been made to the Spanish power in Italy, and in the Netherlands Charles had ruled with success and usually with popularity. At Charles V's abdication his son Philip II inherited an immense power. It was no loss to Spain, but rather a gain, that the empire and the Hapsburg possessions to the east of Germany passed to Ferdinand and not to Philip. With vast possessions in the old world and the new, a warlike population, great reputed wealth, and the support of the Roman Catholic Church, everything seemed possible to him.

Philip II's reign is usually counted a great failure. He seemed constantly on the eve of some epoch-making achievement, and there were moments when it seemed possible that he would add England and France to the possessions of his crown. But no final success crowned his efforts. The heretic Elizabeth still sat at the end of his reign upon an unshaken throne, France lay contentedly in the grasp of his great antagonist, Henry of Navarre. But the worst blow of all was that a large part of the Netherlands had torn itself away and had become an independent and a Protestant state.

Yet the reign was not without its triumphs. In 1571 a Spanish admiral, Don John of Austria, the half-brother of the king, commanding a great fleet drawn from the chief Catholic powers, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Turkish navy at Lepanto, in the Gulf of Corinth, from which the Turkish naval power never recovered. Greatest triumph of all, in 1580, upon the death of the King of Portugal, Philip II asserted with success his claims upon the Portuguese throne, and thus not only ruled over the whole peninsula, but annexed also the vast Portuguese

dominions in America and India Nor was the glory of Spain limited to war and conquest This was her great age also in art and literature Cervantes fought at the battle of Lepanto, and in 1605 wrote "Don Quixote," which ³ Art and Literature soon came to be recognized as one of the few masterpieces of European literature The romantic Spanish drama of Calderon (1601-1687) claims its place along with the best that England and France have done Painting flourished as well as literature, though the work of Velasquez, the greatest name in Spanish art, belongs to the next century

But we must turn to the Netherlands, whose revolt was the gravest blow that Spain received during the reign of Philip II Not only was Spain weakened by the Revolt of revolt, but it also gave to Europe a new state, the Nether- protestant, progressive, and free, which for at lands least a century led the van of Europe in everything which made for liberty and enlightenment

The Netherlands were seventeen separate states which had come into the possession of Philip II as part of the inheritance from Charles of Burgundy Each state had its Condition of own constitution, and they did not in any sense the Nether- form a unity, though Charles V had tried, and lands not altogether without success, to give them a common system of administration They nominally formed part of the empire, but the connection was as weak as in the case of the Swiss Confederation They were a busy hive of commerce and industry, and their great cities and harbours, of which Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Amsterdam were the chief, gave to the King of Spain a far larger revenue than that which he derived from the Indies They were not easy to govern, and Charles V had had some serious troubles with them, but they had, for the most part, supported him loyally

Philip II had none of his father's cosmopolitan interest and experience He lived nearly all his life in Spain, and directed from Madrid by means of a vast corre- Character of spondence the affairs of his world-wide empire Philip II. He had great industry, patience, and a sense of duty, and his devotion to religion was genuine and profound But

hardly a ruler in the annals of Europe has been so hated by contemporaries and posterity, for he came in conflict with every cause that represented freedom and progress, and he strove to suppress them cruelly and unscrupulously

His policy with regard to the Netherlands was plain, and was in many respects in harmony with the general trend of the time. He desired to give to the seventeen states of the Netherlands a real unity under the Crown. He wished to efface much of their local and separate liberties, and to rule in the Netherlands with the same unquestioned authority with which he ruled in Spain, and Elizabeth and Henry IV ruled respectively in England and in France. He believed, moreover, as most men in that age believed, that political unity was impossible without religious unity, and from motives both of policy and religion, he determined to crush the Protestant movement, which had already struck strong roots especially in the northern states.

The conflict with the states began almost immediately after Philip's accession. They had hoped that he would appoint one of their own great nobles to be Regent, and public opinion named either Count Egmont, or William, Prince of Orange. The latter was of German origin, though his title came from the little principality of Orange in France, and he owned much property in the Netherlands and identified himself with them. Philip passed them over, and appointed his half-sister Margaret of Parma, who relied chiefly on the advice of Spanish councillors. Then came friction in religious matters. Philip wished to establish new bishoprics and to crush down Protestantism by the relentless use of coercive measures. The States declared that this encroached upon their privileges, and there was much negotiation, but no result was reached. Philip determined to cut the knot with the sword, and in 1567 he despatched the Duke of Alva with a large and well-equipped army. On his arrival he struck hard and irresistibly. Egmont was executed. William of Orange saved himself by flight.

A council—called by the people of the Netherlands the Council of Blood—was set up for the summary punishment of the allied crimes of treason and heresy. All

efforts at insurrection were defeated. In 1569 the country seemed absolutely in Alva's power, and yet three years later there came a fierce insurrection which Spain could never quell.

The ignorance and oppressiveness of Alva's financial policy were the chief cause of the new movement. He imposed taxes, which, even more by the method of their collection than by their actual weight, would have destroyed the vigorous commerce of the Netherlands. The taxes were postponed for a time, but they were to be collected in 1572. Foreign help,

The rising of 1572. The command of William the Silent

or the prospect of it, encouraged the oppressed people to risk all on a rising. Queen Elizabeth was friendly to them, and France saw, with bitter jealousy, the triumph which Spain had won on her northern frontier. In April, 1572, the "sea-beggars"—men half-patriots and half-pirates, who had been driven from the land by the action of Alva—captured Brill and Flushing in the province of Zeeland. The two provinces of Holland and Zeeland declared war upon Alva, and summoned William of Orange, better known as William the Silent, to take their government. The real war of independence thus began, and it lasted forty years. It proved a bottomless gulf into which Spain poured her armies and her navies and her treasure. Nothing contributed so much to her ruin as this long and profitless effort to subdue the Netherlands.

We shall see in the next chapter how the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day dispelled the hope of French assistance, but the northern provinces carried on by themselves their heroic struggle until victory crowned their efforts. It was a wonderful struggle, but

Characteristics of the struggle

the causes of the failure of Spain can be seen. She was distracted in her efforts by her numerous enterprises, and suffered from a lack of funds, which in the end amounted to absolute bankruptcy. She made, moreover, no real effort to crush the Netherlands on the sea, and while the sea was theirs they could never be quite reduced to extremities. They were no match for the Spanish in the open field, but they fought stubbornly behind the walls of their cities, and on several critical occasions cut their dykes and let in the sea in order

to drive off the enemy We must recognize, too, the vast services of William the Silent He was not a great soldier but he breathed his own resolute courage into the hearts of his countrymen, and his patient diplomacy and unruffled temper succeeded in keeping the many jarring elements of the rebellion in some sort of alliance No state owes more to any ruler than Holland owes to William the Silent

(*Dequensens 73-76*)

Alva retired in 1573 His successor gained victories and pushed the Dutch hard, but there seemed no end to the struggle Then in 1576 came an event which gave The Spanish to William hope of a far greater triumph than he fury was destined to achieve Upon the sudden death of

the Spanish governor, the Spanish troops, whose pay was much in arrears, broke out in mutiny They chose their own leaders, and spread over the land to plunder and destroy Now, hitherto, the chief resistance to the Spaniards had come from the northern states, which differed in many ways from the south, they were more Protestant and more democratic, and they spoke a German dialect, while in the south French was spoken by half the population But the common danger from the violence of the Spanish mutineers brought north and south together, and in 1576 William negotiated the Pacifica-

The Pacific- cation of Ghent, by which all the seventeen provinces cation of / bound themselves together for the expulsion of Ghent. the Spanish and the winning of a common national

government, while they promised to exercise towards one another a spirit of forbearance in matters of religion

So strong was the new movement that Spain had to yield for a time Could the union have been permanent it would have been an incalculable gain for European civilization But it was not to be Religious fanaticism was too strong to be repressed by any treaty, and the Protestants were no whit behind the Catholics in their intolerance Catholicism too, was gathering fresh energies from the preaching of the Jesuits If the newly formed government had been successful, it might perhaps have been permanent, but the patriot troops were defeated by Dop John of Austria at Gemblours in 1578, and soon the league broke up With keen regret

William found himself reduced to the support of the Northern and Protestant states. In 1579 these formed the Union of Utrecht, whereby they bound themselves together in a loose federal government and continued the war against Spain. The southern states gained concessions from Spain, and henceforth counted as her allies.

The cause of the rebel states seemed hopeless, and the contest was conducted with ever-increasing bitterness. In 1580 Philip, who saw in William the chief cause of his failure to conquer the rebellious states, issued a "ban" declaring him the enemy of the human race, and offering a large reward to any one who would "deliver him quick or dead or deprive him at once of life." Hitherto the states had kept up the pretence of loyalty to Philip, but now they formally abjured him, and declared that "when a king, instead of being a shepherd of his flock, grinds down his people and treats them as slaves, the estates of the land may legally renounce him and put another in his place." It was an important statement of principle, which was later echoed by the revolutions of England, America, and France.

William now negotiated eagerly for foreign assistance, and the Duke of Anjou, brother of the reigning French king, consented to become the ally and protector of the states. But there was no sincerity in his action. He aimed at absolute sovereignty in the land, and was discontented with the limited power which was granted him. He basely attempted to seize the city of Antwerp, and upon his failure withdrew to France, where he soon after died. England was friendly, and Englishmen served as volunteers in the Dutch armies, but no open assistance came from that side while William lived. Soon after this the states were deprived of William's invaluable help. The reward offered by Philip had induced many assassins to lie in wait for his life. He had been dangerously wounded in 1582, and was killed at Delft in 1584. His patience, courage, and diplomatic skill, his humanity and unselfish patriotism made him the first statesman of his time. Modern Holland owes to him her existence. He was the first of

European statesmen to try to found a state upon religious toleration

It seemed as if his death would ruin the cause of the Netherlands. The great Spanish soldier, Parma, took Antwerp, Parma's and the alliance of the Protestant states was in the victories greatest danger. Some help was afforded by Queen Elizabeth, who sent over the Earl of Leicester with an ill-equipped army, but more efficient help came from the change in the European situation. The defeat of the Spanish Armada by the English in 1588 shook the prestige of Spain as nothing had done yet. Soon afterwards, Henry of Navarre, hitherto a Protestant and always the bitter enemy of Spain, won the crown of France. England, Holland, and France joined in an alliance against Spain, and all prospect of a Spanish triumph disappeared. Maurice, the son of William the Silent, commanded the Dutch armies with far greater military skill than his father had ever shown. At last, in 1597, at Turnhout, the Dutch army defeated the Spanish. The Spanish in the open field. The war dragged on still for accept years—years of great exhaustion for both parties, defeat. but while the Dutch pushed on their commerce, and their trade prospered in spite of the war, Spain suffered without compensation or relief. At last in 1609 a truce for twelve years was signed.

This was really the end of the Dutch War of Independence. An heroic struggle had produced a state which during the next century gave much of priceless value to Europe. The services of the Dutch Republic to Europe Agriculture and shipbuilding owed much to the Dutch. International law received a great impetus from the writings of Grotius. The University of Leyden was the centre for a vigorous movement of physical science. Of literature the Dutch produced little that was really of high quality, but they gave a new and original impulse to the art of painting. The Protestant sentiment of Holland did not encourage the Dutch painters to represent scenes from the life of Christ or from the stories of the saints. But they turned with passionate love to the land which they had won after such a struggle from the sword of Spain. They made the dull scenes of their flat country into glorious

landscapes by the magic of their brush, and showed that prosaic incidents from the common life of ordinary men might be treated with an art as consummate as that of Raphael or Titian. In landscape, portraiture, and *genre* painting the greatest of the Dutch artists, Rembrandt, Hals, Teniers, Gerard Dou, have had no superiors.

But though the foreign danger had passed away, the new state had grave internal difficulties. The Union of Utrecht supplied the basis of the constitution, and it is interesting as the first instance of a federal government in modern times, but it was extremely difficult to work. The difficulties of the new state There was as yet no Dutch state or nation. The seven provinces each claimed almost complete independence, and the central government could only act when all the provinces were unanimous. Two parties began to develop. On the one side the Orange party, under their leader Prince Maurice, desired to make the states into a real unity under the leadership of the House of Orange, and Maurice desired the power if not the title of a king. A party on the other side led by Oldenbarneveldt was anxious to maintain the republic in the spirit and the letter, and to resist the ambitions of the House of Orange. The situation was complicated by a fierce religious controversy in the Protestant ranks. The more rigid Calvinists under Gomarus were confronted by the more liberal school of Arminius. Maurice joined himself to the Gomarists and the opinions of their opponents were condemned at the Synod of Dort (1619), and those who persisted in them were punished by exclusion from office and by exile. This was a great victory for Maurice, and his triumph was further secured by the odious trial and criminal execution of his great opponent, Oldenbarneveldt.

The republican party, however, was by no means annihilated. Maurice died in 1625, but the contest was carried on by his successors, Frederick Henry and William II. But upon the death of the latter in 1650 there was no heir but a young child (afterwards King William III of England), and the republican leader, John de Witt, struck what seemed likely to be a final blow against the Orangist ambitions. Defeat of the House of Orange. The young prince was

excluded from the governorship and from military and naval command in the Province of Holland, which was by far the wealthiest and most powerful of all the seven and equal in influence to all the rest. But the fate of the Netherlands was to be again closely united to the House of Orange, and the young prince lived to rule in the Netherlands and to reign in Great Britain, and to exercise on the destinies of Europe as great an influence as that of his great ancestor, William the Silent. The Orangists had throughout been the military party, and had urged the maintenance of a large army and a watchful attitude towards European neighbours. Their opponents placed their faith in the navy, and distrusted the army because it was the chief support of the House of Orange. When, in 1672, the ambition of Louis XIV of France brought on this state a military danger, as great as that which William the Silent had had to face, a spontaneous movement called his grandson to power.

For the sake of clearness we have traced Dutch history to the middle of the seventeenth century. We must now turn to the fortune of France in the sixteenth

The books on this period are numerous and excellent. Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, and his *History of the United Netherlands*, are eloquent in praise of the Northern States. The *Life of William the Silent* has been excellently written by Frederic Harrison and by Ruth Putnam. Prescott's *Philip II* gives the history of Spain during the same period. The articles by Mr Edmundson in the *Cambridge Modern History* give the best summary of the history of the Netherlands.

CHAPTER V

France and the Reformation

THE Peace of Cateau Cambrésis in 1559 had left France in a strong position in Europe. She had gained important territories on her eastern frontier, and had torn the city of Calais from the possession of the English. During the festivities which celebrated the peace in Paris,

the French king, Henry II, was killed by a chance blow in a tournament, and the situation was at once completely altered

The movement of the Reformation had hitherto caused no serious disturbance in France. Repressive edicts had been passed, and many victims had been sacrificed, but the religious unity of France had not seemed threatened. But there was in France, as elsewhere, a great fermentation in men's minds. Calvinism, as we have seen, was the work of a Frenchman, and its books were written in French. It soon gained a strong hold upon large masses of the French people. Its devotees were to be found in all ranks of life, and were numerous among the workmen of the towns. But the striking feature of French Protestantism was that it counted in its ranks a large number of the aristocracy. In this respect the Protestant movement in France resembles the early period of the Reformation in Scotland, and the French nobles, like the Scottish nobles, were attracted to the new movement, not only by religious conviction, but also by the opportunity and excuse it afforded them of carrying on resistance to the Crown, and by the hope which it held out of the plunder of the estates of the Church. The south and the west of France were the districts most favourable to Protestantism, the city of Paris itself was throughout bitterly hostile to it, and it claimed few adherents in the centre or the east.

Calvin watched the progress of the movement from Geneva, and at one time believed that, if freedom of preaching were allowed, the Catholic Church would be utterly overthrown in France. But at no time were the Protestants the majority of the French people. The rigidity and austerity of Calvinism repelled many who were attracted by the poetry and imagination of the Roman Catholic system and service, and as time went on the zeal and faith of the Protestants was confronted by a zeal and faith on the side of the Catholics as great as their own. It must be noted also that there was in France a current of opinion distinct from the two warring religious movements. From the first there had been in Europe men like Erasmus, the great Dutch

scholar, who felt uneasy in either camp, and refused altogether to join with Luther. In France the same middle position was held at the beginning by Rabelais, and at the end of the period by Montaigne. The first wrote with all the energy and enthusiasm of hope, the second was sceptical and despairing of any great change for the better. But both of them, though they belonged nominally to the Catholic camp, were as far as possible from the ideas of the Roman Catholic reaction. They preached toleration and appealed to reason, and the doctrines so eagerly put forward by the leaders on either side failed to convince them. For the next half century they had little influence on the course of public affairs, but the later centuries in France were as much influenced by the thought of Rabelais and Montaigne as by that of Calvin and Ignatius Loyola.

At the death of King Henry II there was no son old enough to rule in France. The Queen Mother was the famous Catherine—or infamous—Catherine de' Medici. She had de' Medici been neglected by her husband and now saw her chance arrive of acquiring power. She has sometimes been represented as the champion of repressive Catholicism, and her actions have been traced to religious fanaticism. This is far from being the truth. Not religion but political ambition gives us the key to her character, and though as a Medici she could only be a Catholic, her religious beliefs sat very lightly upon her, and hardly influenced her actions. She was more guided by the superstitions of astrology than by the doctrines of the Catholic Church. She had a large family, but all of them were young, and none showed much vigour either of body or of mind. No one of them would be capable of really ruling in France for some years to come.

Catherine desired to hold the position that was thus left vacant, but she was face to face with numerous noblemen who struggled for power and whose rivalry was connected with the religious controversies of the time. The Bourbons and the Guises. On the one side stood the family of the Bourbons, whose chief representatives were Anthony, the weak King of Navarre, and his brother the more vigorous Louis, Prince of Condé. They had espoused the Calvinist cause, but in their case it is not uncharitable to say that religion was only the cloak

for political designs On the other side was the family of Guise This family belonged originally to Lorraine, but had for some time been settled at the French Court, where it already exercised a great influence By conviction and by interest the Guises were attached to the Roman Catholic cause The Cardinal of Guise was one of the two or three most influential churchmen of the time, and Francis, Duke of Guise, was the most prominent and successful soldier in the country The only man at Court upon whom Catherine could rely for loyal service to the Crown was the Chancellor, L'Hôpital L'Hôpital He was a religious man, but he was anxious to find some way to peace between the rival factions, and was one of the few men in Europe at this time who sincerely believed in the possibility of religious toleration

The short reign of Francis II, husband of Mary Queen of Scots, was full of religious strife He died in December, 1560, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles IX Charles IX Efforts were made to keep the peace by instituting a conference between the representatives of the two faiths, but such movements were premature and vain L'Hôpital issued upon the royal authority an edict, whereby Protestants were to be allowed to worship within certain restrictions But both parties were eager for victory, and would not consent to a compromise In March, 1562, the Duke of Guise passed through the little town of Vassy with a body of troops A Calvinist service was in progress it was interrupted by the soldiers, and in the confusion that followed a large number of those taking part in it were killed This, which is usually known as the Massacre of Vassy, at once lit the flames of civil war in the land

From this time on for more than thirty years France enjoyed no settled peace Her prestige in Europe diminished, her wealth and prosperity sank to a low ebb in Character its social consequences the struggle was one of the of the war worst that Europe has known It was divided into seven or eight different wars, containing battles that were none of them of decisive importance, and all terminated by some unreal treaty of toleration The Catholics throughout held the advantage, and the Protestants, whilst they fought without

allies, gained no important victory over their enemies. Had the crown been worn by an energetic ruler, the contest would probably have been ended by the complete triumph of Catholicism. But Catherine de' Medici was not anxious for a victory which would give dangerous influence to the Catholic leaders, and preferred rather to balance between the opposing parties. The strength of the Protestants was at the beginning to be found in the nobles, but before the end its most stubborn adherents were the great towns of the west and south. Anthony Coligny of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were its military leaders, but the greatest name was unquestionably that of the Admiral Coligny, who in military talents and still more in character deserves to rank among the greatest and purest names of the century.

In the first war, Queen Elizabeth gave the Protestants—or as they are more usually called the Huguenots¹ of France—some assistance. But the experiment was an unsuccessful one, and the English Queen was not willing to repeat it. Both sides looked to help from beyond the frontier. The Protestants sometimes got troops from Germany and from Switzerland, and the Catholics were indebted to Spanish support and help. The presence of the Spaniards in the Netherlands, which we saw in the last chapter, had throughout an important influence on the course of the wars in France. We will pass over the first three without any attempt to trace their course. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were both removed during their course, and the Duke of Guise was assassinated whilst he superintended the siege of Orleans. The third war was the most serious, and the Protestants fought and lost in it two important battles. Then, in 1570, when many were expecting a serious assault upon the Protestant cause, a peace was accorded, the Peace of St. Germain. It is one of the best of the many Peaces granted during the war, and may be taken as characteristic of the rest. Freedom of

¹ The origin of this famous name is uncertain. It is by some derived from the Protestant confederates (*eidgenossen*) of Switzerland, by others from *Hugues*, which was used locally to denote a hobgoblin.

conscience was to be allowed to all, and freedom of worship was to be permitted in the castles of the nobility and in two towns which were to be selected in each of the administrative areas of France. The Protestants, at the same time, were to be admitted on equal terms to the Universities and to all public services. It fell far short of complete toleration, but it might have been developed into that, and as it stood it gave the Protestants a position which was endurable.

The years from 1570 to 1572 are the most critical and debatable of the time, they led up to the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day, and there are many questions concerning that massacre which are as yet by no means decided. The main features of the time seem to be these. The young King, Charles IX, was not without a sense of duty and of appreciation of the position in France. He saw that the country was being weakened by civil war, while the rival power of Spain, at least in appearance, was advancing by leaps and bounds. He drew near to Coligny, and was impressed by the energy and patriotism of the great Protestant leader. A new policy seemed on the point of being adopted. Protestants and Catholics were to live in France with mutual respect, and the whole force of the nation was to be thrown into war on behalf of the Netherlands against the King of Spain. It was a policy in its essential features very much like that which was carried to brilliant results by Henry of Navarre twenty years later, and by Richelieu in the next century. It was proposed to cement and emphasize the new policy, first by an alliance with the Queen of England, and possibly by a marriage between her and the King's brother Henry, and next by a marriage between Henry of Navarre, the heir to the Protestant leadership, and the King's sister, Margaret of Valois. It was thought that France would enter into the struggle early in the autumn of 1572. The marriage with Elizabeth fell through, but the alliance was made. Henry of Navarre was actually married to Margaret, and the great change in the foreign policy of France seemed likely to be carried out, when suddenly there came the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's day (24th August, 1572). The idea

of solving the religious difficulty by a massacre of her opponents was already familiar to the mind of Catherine, but the actual massacre was not a long premeditated blow. It is to be traced rather to the jealousy with which the Queen saw the rising influence of Coligny and her fear that unless something were done she would find herself relegated to a subordinate position in the State. Her Italian experiences suggested a means of escape. Coligny must be killed. An assassin fired upon him and wounded him as he was entering his lodging, but his life was in no danger, and his fellow Protestants demanded full inquiry. The failure of the smaller crime made a much greater one necessary. Catherine joined with the King's brother Henry, with Henry, Duke of Guise, and with certain of the leading authorities in Paris, and it was determined to let loose the fanatical populace of Paris against the Huguenots. The King, in spite of his fondness for Coligny, was weakly persuaded to consent to the massacre by the representation that his own life was in danger. The Duke of Guise himself superintended the murder of Coligny, and elsewhere in Paris and in France the Huguenots were cut down in great numbers, which perhaps reached altogether as high as 10,000.¹

Hardly was the deed done when it was seen that it was a folly as well as a crime. The Huguenots were weakened by the loss of their great leader and so many from their ranks, but they flew to arms at once and prepared to defend their lives stubbornly. The deed, too, though it found some to apologize for it on the Catholic side, was condemned generally throughout Europe. England drew away from France for a time, and in the war that followed, the Huguenots received no very severe blow. Then, within a year after the massacre (1573) the Government accorded them a peace, which reproduced many of the features of the Peace of St. Germain.

Soon afterwards, Charles IX. died, and his brother reigned as Henry III. He had shown vigour in the early campaigns against the Protestants, and he had been elected to the crown of Poland. But on the news of the death of his brother he

¹ It is impossible to fix the number of victims with any certainty. The contemporary Sully says 70,000. Lord Acton's estimate was 8000.

left Poland and returned to France. He had been deeply concerned in the massacre, and his arrival was the signal for the outbreak of war once more. It was pursued with- King
out energy, for the king was now a self-indulgent Henry III
and careless voluptuary, who occasionally took part in fanatical and ascetic religious exercises, but was not influenced by any serious religious aims. So a little obscure fighting was followed by a peace of the usual kind, and it seemed as though these wars and peaces might follow in endless succession without achieving any result but the ruin of France.

And yet the situation was changing, and new forces were arising which made the personal action of Henry of less importance. On the one side there was growing up a The party
new party called the Politiques, or the Politicians, of the
by which name were designated those who placed Politiques
the well-being of the country before the triumph of their particular religious opinions. With these aims a number of Roman Catholics now joined themselves to the Protestants, and their declared aim was a government based upon toleration. The leadership of this party—which of course included all the Huguenots—was for a time a difficult question. But when Henry of Navarre had abjured the Catholicism into which he had been forced at the time of the massacre, and Henry of
had escaped from Paris to the Protestants in the Navarre
south, he was welcomed as their leader. Neither as leader
the doctrine nor the discipline of Calvinism had of the
ever much hold upon him. He was drawn to the Hugue-
nots
Protestant side chiefly by family traditions, but he served it faithfully for years. He was, if not a great general, at any rate a splendidly daring leader in irregular warfare, and his presence on the Protestant side was all the more important because it grew more and more probable that he would be the heir to the French throne. For neither Francis II nor Charles IX had left male heirs, Henry III was childless, and so was his brother the Duke of Alençon, who now took the title of Anjou. Henry of Navarre was the next male claimant.

Whilst the forces of Protestantism and toleration were thus receiving a new organization, a similar movement was visible

upon the Catholic side There was there general disgust with the action and policy of the king, and most zealous Catholics looked rather to the splendid young Duke of Guise as their leader than to Henry III The idea of a Catholic League had already been put forward, and had received much support from Rome and from Spain But in 1584 the matter became much more urgent because the Duke of Anjou died, and it was certain that no male heir would now come from the children of Catherine de' Medici If the ordinary rule of succession was to be followed, the Protestant Henry of Navarre would before long be King of France It was to prevent this result at all costs that the Catholic League was formed Its avowed objects were to extirpate heresy, and to secure the exclusion of all heretics and supporters of heretics from the throne of France It chose as the candidate for the royal title, the Cardinal of Bourbon, the uncle of Henry of Navarre But this was only a postponement of the question, for the chosen candidate was old and childless, and the decision as to who should ultimately reign as the Catholic King of France was surrounded with insoluble difficulties The title was coveted by Philip II of Spain himself, who, if he were successful in his aims, would thus more than compensate for the checks which he had received in the Netherlands and in England But the accession of Philip would offend the national sentiment of France, and there were many who desired to see Henry of Guise upon the throne There can be no question that King Henry III was more favourable to the party of the Politiques than to the Holy League, but he dared not challenge a contest with the League, and became its nominal champion He had to declare war once more against the Protestants and their allies The war now assumed a more important and decisive phase The king played little part in it, his old military ardour had quite disappeared, and he left the command to his favourites Against one of these Henry of Navarre gained a great victory at Coutras (1587) But almost immediately afterwards this was balanced by the defeat of the Swiss and Germans, who were coming to his help, by Henry of Guise

Duke Henry was more than ever now the hero of Catholic France. He came to Paris, which was more fiercely Catholic than any other part of the nation. Henry III. The Day forbade him to enter the city. He entered notwithstanding, and was greeted with wild enthusiasm of the Bar-
ricades
 The king plotted his death and called upon troops from outside Paris to blockade the city. Against this threat the citizens of Paris rose in fierce rebellion, barricades were erected, and the king had no means of repressing the movement. He had to humiliate himself before his rival, and at his request, Henry of Guise quieted the insurrection. The king could not bear to reside any longer in a city which had thus insulted him, and he fled in the night from the palace.

But to whom could he go for help? The Duke of Guise was the darling of the Catholic armies, and it was not possible for him yet to come to any agreement with Henry of Navarre and the Protestants. He had to go again through a form of reconciliation with the Duke of Guise, and once more he joined himself in name to the forces of the Holy League.

Henry III. very soon found that even outside of Paris his authority counted for very little, and that of the League for much. He had recourse to the expedient which The States-
we so often find in the great crises of French General
history. He called a meeting of the States-General at Blois
 at Blois, and he hoped to find support for his authority in the representatives of the people. He found, however, that the majority in each of the three orders was decidedly hostile to him. He still bore the crown, but it was Henry, Duke of Guise, who reigned. We must remember that the king had played a prominent part in the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and that he was well versed in all the ideas of Italian statecraft. He saw in Henry of Guise his great enemy and the cause of his humiliation, and he determined to relieve himself by murder. The duke knew that he was in danger, but did not think that the king would have courage for the act. In December, 1588, he was murdered as he entered Assassina-
the apartments of the king. His brother, the tion of the
 Cardinal, was killed immediately afterwards, and Guises
 the king in triumph announced the result to his mother,

Catherine de' Medici, who lay ill and dying. She warned him that instead of making himself truly King of France as he had hoped, it would turn out that he had reduced his kingdom to nothing.

And so it proved. The King of the League—as men called Henry of Guise—was dead, but the League still lived,

and all who by interest or policy were attached to the Roman Catholic religion refused on any conditions to obey the murderer of its champion. So Henry III, reduced to complete despair, had to

find allies where he could, and he found them in what seems the most impossible place. He turned to Henry of Navarre and to his combined following of Huguenots and Politiques. This party was now proclaiming that nothing could destroy the hereditary right to the throne, and in these monarchical principles there was a ground of union with Henry III. The two rivals and enemies met. Henry III talked of the common bond of Christianity which ought not to be severed by small differences—words which sounded strangely in the mouth of one of the chief authors of the Saint Bartholomew Massacre—and made a close alliance with Henry of Navarre. Their combined forces seemed masters of the situation. The army of the League could not meet them in the open field, and they advanced on

Paris. If Paris fell—and its fall seemed certain—Henry IV would reign, Huguenot though he was. But in Paris fanaticism had risen to the boiling point, and a Dominican monk passed out from the besieged city, found admission to the presence of Henry III and stabbed him with a mortal wound.

The death of Henry III removed a very poor creature from the political arena, but it altered the situation. There were many Catholics who were willing to follow the Catholic Henry III, whose consciences would not permit them to support the Protestant Henry of Navarre. So, though he took at once the title of Henry IV, he found his army so diminished that it was impossible to prosecute the siege of Paris, and he became once more an adventurer fighting for the crown.

He gained notable victories. He marched to Dieppe in

order to get into touch with Queen Elizabeth, who, since the defeat of the Spanish Armada, was more able to render him assistance. Near Dieppe he gained a great victory Battle of at Arques, and a little after he overthrew the Ivry, 1590 enemy in the still more important battle of Ivry. Victory seemed within his grasp, and stories were current of his gallantry and of his humanity which drew to him the hearts even of many of his opponents. After Ivry he advanced on Paris and began the siege. The place was reduced to the extremity of starvation, and, in spite of the Catholic enthusiasm which reigned within the city, it seemed certain that in a short time the capital of France must be in the hands of the Huguenot King. But the death of Henry III had changed the situation on the side of the League, as well as on that of its opponents. Philip II of Spain saw in the Holy League now, not merely an instrument which might be of service to him in preventing the French from joining with the enemies, but also a means whereby he might possibly win for himself the crown of France. For the Catholic League—especially in Paris—was so bitter against Henry IV that it would shrink from no expedient. And there were many of its members who were eager to throw France wholly into the arms of its old enemy, Spain. There were others, it is true, who were bitterly opposed to this, and who supported the claims of the brother of the murdered Duke of Guise, Mayenne. Cherishing as he did these vast hopes which, if realized, would more than compensate Relief of for his defeats in England and in the Netherlands, Paris by Philip could not afford to see the fall of Paris. Parma He instructed his great general Parma, who was conducting the campaign in the Netherlands, to march to Paris and relieve it. Henry IV dared not allow himself to be caught by the Spanish army while he was still blockading Paris. The city was therefore relieved, and Henry marched against the Spaniards, eager for battle. Parma, however, had accomplished his purpose and withdrew. A year later Henry blockaded Rouen, which was of the utmost importance as commanding the river route to Paris, and here, also, when success seemed within his grasp, the prize was torn from him by a successful movement of Parma. This was, however, the

last feat of the great Spanish general, who died shortly after of a wound received in the campaign

The end of the interminable war seemed as far off as ever Henry could not beat down his enemies, nor was France

The con-
version of
Henry of
Navarre willing to accept the rule of the Spanish king
The Catholic League had called together a meeting
of the estates, but opinions were much divided,
and no issue was apparent For some time past

a means of escape from this stalemate had suggested itself to Henry IV France would not submit to him while he remained Protestant, but it was probable that it would welcome his rule if it could regard him as a Catholic His religious opinions had always sat lightly upon him He was as far as possible from the Puritan or Calvinist type, and the licence of his private life had for many years given great offence to the Calvinist ministers The temptation to change his faith was great, and there were those even among his own Protestant councillors who advised him to take the step On the one side was the peace and prosperity of France, and against it, fidelity to opinions which he held with a very loose grasp He determined to take what he called the "great plunge" He went through the comedy of being instructed in the Catholic faith He declared himself convinced, and went to Mass (1593)

His change of opinions acted like a charm One city after the other, even in districts most devoted to the Catholic

Surrender
of France
to Henry
IV League, opened their gates to one whose prowess
and genialty they had admired for long Paris
for some time remained hostile, and it was in the
hands of a Spanish garrison But even in Paris

the greater part of the population was turning decidedly against the bitter fanaticism of the League, and was eager to find the city reunited to France and under the rule of a king once more As a result, therefore, of a sort of conspiracy the gates were thrown open and Henry rode in He

Henry
reconciled
with
Rome was received with immense enthusiasm The people
of Paris, as he said, were wild with joy to look
once more upon the face of a king For some time
the Pope refused to recognize the change of faith,
and until the Pope granted him absolution his hold upon

Catholic France was not secure. In 1595, however, the desired end was reached, and, after the formula of penitence, King Henry IV was recognized by the head of the Catholic Church.

The war with Spain still continued, and in this war Henry and the French armies received at first decisive checks. He had to throw himself with all his energy into the encounter, before the Spaniards were driven back from a dangerous raid into the neighbourhood of Paris. But Spain was exhausted. Her king had seen one after the other of the hopes that he so ardently entertained disappear, and in 1598 he accepted the treaty of Vervins, and France and Spain were at peace once more.

Henry IV thus reigned, without serious opposition within or without the kingdom, but the task of reorganization, to which he must now set his hand, was one of enormous difficulty. France seemed ruined by thirty years of civil war. We hear of large districts that had gone out of cultivation, of wolves invading villages and even towns, the habits of the people had retrograded towards barbarism. More difficult even than the defeat of the Spaniards was the redemption of the country from its misery and its re-establishment as one of the most advanced and prosperous of European states.

There was first the religious settlement to be effected. The Catholics were now for the most part satisfied with their king, but his old Protestant supporters were jealous and resentful. During his last campaigns, many of the men, who had protected him in adversity, and through stubborn fighting had carried him to victory at Ivry, refused to join his armies. In 1598 he issued in their interest the famous Edict of Nantes. He declared this Edict to be perpetual and irrevocable, and it gave to the Protestants of France a far better position than was accorded to religious dissidents in any other European state. They were to have liberty of worship within the same limits as had been allowed by earlier treaties, they were to have an open career in the universities and in the service of the State, justice was to be guaranteed to them by the formation of special courts at Paris.

and elsewhere for the trial of cases in which Protestants were concerned, and on these courts Protestant judges were to find a place. Lastly, certain towns and fortresses were practically handed over to their control. The garrisons were to be paid by the king, but the officers were to be appointed by the leaders of the Protestant party. They had thus in these towns cities of refuge and a means of making effective resistance to any policy which threatened their liberties. It was a splendid edict. Europe had not hitherto known any measure of such justice and wisdom with regard to religious differences, and, while it was observed, it was the source of great profit to France not only in economic questions but in religious matters as well. The danger and the drawback lay in the fact that it went beyond the general feeling of the age. The king, and one or two other of the enlightened statesmen of the time, may have believed in toleration, but it was not accepted as a principle either by the Protestants or the Catholics. Thus it came to pass that less than a hundred years later, when opportunity served, the edict was withdrawn by the grandson of Henry IV.

It may be noted, too, that Henry had had trouble with the Jesuits who were, in France as elsewhere, the leaders of the more aggressive Catholic party. An attempt made upon his life was doubtfully connected with them, and they were expelled from the realm of France. They returned, however, shortly afterwards, and there was no real breach between Henry and the Pope.

In constitutional matters the new monarchy was even more absolute than the old one. The long civil war resulted—as such periods of confusion have often done—in a notable strengthening of the authority of the Government. No new States-General were called. They had been too closely associated with resistance to the crown in the interest of the aristocracy and Catholicism. When the king desired the support of public opinion he called together a body of “Notables” chosen by himself, before whom he laid his needs and from whom he asked advice. The Parlement of Paris was changed in one important particular: its members were called upon to pay a tax known as the Paulette, and on this condition

their tenure of office was secured to them and made hereditary. They were no longer subject, as they had been, to royal coercion, and this partly explains the part played by this body in the troubles of the next century.

The economic question was of the utmost urgency and the king had in this matter the invaluable help of his great minister, Sully, who had remained a Protestant himself, but had recommended the king's change of faith. Sully He was a man of great honesty, great force of character and patient attention to detail. He managed to bring some order into the inscrutable tangle of the finances. He did his utmost to encourage agriculture by the building of roads and canals, and the suggestion of new methods. The silkworm was introduced by him into France, and the silk industry became an important one. For industry in general he had little liking, but his royal master had more, and the beginnings of the industrial life in France, which reached so high a point in the middle of the next century, can be traced to the last years of Henry IV.

The king had for a long time no legitimate issue, and the question of the succession was at one time a difficult one. But his marriage with Margaret of Valois was dissolved, and in the year 1600 he married Marie de' Medici, a relative of the grand-duke of Tuscany. She bore him a child who was destined to succeed him as Louis XIII. In the last years of his reign the situation in Germany became critical. The principality of Juliers was vacant, and the place was so important because of its position upon the Rhine, and its command of the passage from Germany into the Netherlands, that all Europe was interested in the affair. The question was, whether it should fall into the hands of the Protestants, or should be absorbed by the Catholic House of the Hapsburgs. It seemed as though a great war would be lit by this question, for there was combustible material in Germany, as we shall see in the next chapter. Henry IV. threw himself upon the Protestant side, and was preparing to march with a considerable army to the defence of Juliers. The situation had aroused again the hostility of the extreme Catholics against him, and in 1610,

The affair of Juliers and the murder of Henry IV

just as he was preparing to set out he was murdered by an assassin

In addition to the ordinary histories of France, Willert's *Henry of Navarre*, Edith Sichel's *Catherine de' Medici and the French Reformation*, Armstrong's *French Wars of Religion*, *Lives of Coligny*, by Besant and by Whitehead

CHAPTER VI

England in the Sixteenth Century

I

WE have traced in outline the development of the great powers of Europe during the sixteenth century. It is the object of this chapter to compare the fortunes and the development of England during this period with those of France, Spain, and Germany.

England's geographical separation from the continent has often made her seem a world apart from the rest of Europe, and has made it possible to tell her history with little reference to the story of the Continental Powers. But her separation has been more apparent than real. It is true that the "estranging sea" has exercised the most profound influence upon her life. It has, for instance, until 1914, removed her from the necessity of the great military burdens which have fallen upon the Continental Powers. She has had, and she has needed, no standing army. Hence she has been able with safety to limit the power of the Crown, and her kings have not been able to crush parliamentary opposition by military action, as the Kings of France and Spain did, and as many of the rulers of Germany did also. The English Constitution, no less than the British Empire, is a gift of the sea. And, partly because of her geographical isolation, all movements—political, religious, and intellectual—have presented themselves in England in a form different from those which they have on the continent.

Yet it is easy to exaggerate the separateness of English history. Geographically, politically, religiously—from every point of view—our islands are a part of Europe, and their history cannot properly be understood apart from that of the whole movement of European civilization. During the sixteenth century the history of England was closely connected with that of the rest of Europe, and her development was in some respects parallel to that of France.

This was especially the case with regard to the form of her government. The Wars of the Roses had been partly the results of the premature efforts of Parliament under the Lancastrian dynasty to control the government of England; and the suffering and confusion of that dismal epoch produced a natural reaction towards a more centralized form of government, and a more powerful and independent monarchy. **The genesis of the Tudor monarchy** It is wrong to call the Tudor Monarchy a despotism, for there is every reason to think that it was popular—more popular than Parliament, and that the people at large saw in the monarchy its representative and protector. The rule of Henry VII was generally welcome because it gave the country rest from civil war and the opportunity for industrial and economic progress. His reign and his character have a good deal that is closely analogous to those of Louis XI of France. Both gave to their countries order after civil war, and both cared little for traditional standards of honour and prestige. Henry VIII's early reign pleased by its contrast with the dulness of his predecessor, and by its adventurous and spirited foreign policy. **Henry VIII** In the second half of his reign, when he introduced into the country religious and ecclesiastical changes, those changes were acceptable to some for their own sake, and to some probably because they came from the king and tended to strengthen the power of the king. The reigns of Edward VI and of Mary were a great change. Neither of them was a national ruler as Henry VII and Henry VIII had been national rulers. They became the agents of parties, political and religious, rather than of the whole nation, and the country was again disturbed by risings that had the look of civil war. But when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne,

the monarchy was again strong, national, and popular, more truly representative of the whole people than any Parliamentary government could at that time have been. It was not by force that the queen ruled, for the military forces at her disposal were very small, and when trouble came, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, they were clearly proved to be insufficient for the maintenance of order. But, for the most part, the Crown was supported by the enthusiastic loyalty of the country, and England was saved from more than a very slight experience of those civil convulsions which occurred during this epoch in most European states.

The sixteenth century sees very generally the rise of a "New Monarchy." As the power of the Catholic Church grew weak, a great deal of the power that had belonged to it passed over to the kings of Europe. In the long contest between Church and State, the Church suffered a severe defeat in this century, and much of her power passed over to the kings, who were the real representatives of the State, and this is almost as true of those countries which remained in communion with Rome (such as Spain and France), as of those which, like England, severed the official connection. The position and power of Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth, have thus a strong affinity with those of Charles V, Louis XII, Francis I, and Henry of Navarre, and have more in common with Philip II than appears at first sight, for Philip II was genuinely popular in Spain, and his policy in the Netherlands is closely matched by Elizabeth's in Ireland.

But the monarchy in England rested on different foundations from the Spanish and French monarchies. It was, in effect, a temporary dictatorship, which made little real constitutional change in the parliamentary and local institutions of the country. When circumstances changed, when the Stuart dynasty succeeded to the Tudors, when party spirit ran high and fierce in politics and religion, and the kings were too weak or too unwise to control it, then Parliament came forward again, took from its armoury long disused weapons, and made itself the spokesman, if not

of the whole nation, at least of the most energetic part of it. It was not so in France and Spain. There the monarchy almost effaced the elective parts of the constitution. The Cortes of Castille were reduced to a shadow of their former power, and great changes were introduced into the appointment of members. In France, the States-General played an important part at the beginning and at the end of the religious wars, but their power was not deeply rooted in the life and the traditions of the nation. The monarchy entirely suppressed their meetings, and soon reigned without a thought of them.

II

In the religious revolution, England followed a course, which separated her almost as widely from the Protestant Churches of the continent as from obedience to the papal power. The motives which impelled Henry VIII were neither theological nor moral, but personal and political. When the Lutheran movement began, Henry VIII wrote a treatise against the tenets of Luther, which won for him from the papacy the title of Defender of the Faith (which the sovereigns of England still bear). He was impelled to his quarrel with the papacy first by his desire to procure the annulment of his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, and his failure to obtain the necessary bull from the papacy, and next by the national jealousy of the interference of a foreign power in the religious life of the nation, which had existed for a long time past, and was now intensified by the growing national consciousness. Henry VIII's object was to change the doctrine, worship, and organization of the Church of England as little as possible, but to eliminate the authority of the papacy, and to substitute for it in most instances the power of the Crown. The monasteries were destroyed, the upholders of the Roman connection, such as More and Fisher, suffered martyrdom, but Henry VIII resisted all attempts to bring the English Church into line with the doctrines and the practices of Luther and of Calvin. In 1539 the king passed through Parliament the Law of the Six Articles, which

showed that in doctrine he was still wholly in sympathy with Rome. Any Englishman who denied the doctrine of Transubstantiation was liable to be burnt as a heretic, and the celibacy of the clergy was strongly insisted on.

There were strong bodies in England whom this arrangement offended bitterly, though it seems to have aroused little

Opposition to the system of Henry VIII opposition in the country generally. To the devout Roman Catholics, the destruction of the papal power was an offence which was not to be condoned by the maintenance of Catholic doctrine and worship, while those who drew their inspiration from Calvin

—to whom purity of Protestant doctrine was all important—denounced the maintenance of beliefs, which they regarded as heretical, and at best spoke of the English Liturgy as “folly that might be tolerated.” The death of Henry VIII

and the accession of Edward VI, who was a child, gave for the time the victory to the more energetic Protestants. A new Prayer-book was drawn up, under the influence of Cranmer; the Six Article Law was withdrawn, the English Church

The reign of Edward VI approached more closely to the model which had been set up by the Continental Protestants, though it still maintained its continuity with the past and

claimed its part in the inheritance of the Mediæval Church. At the same time, the weakening of the Government, caused by the youth of the king and the character of the Regency, first of the Duke of Somerset, and then of the Duke of Northumberland, produced great unrest in the country. There were risings in the east and in the south-west of England. They were repressed, but they left much bitterness behind. England seemed slipping under the weak reign into the condition of civil strife, which marked the contemporary history of France, Germany, and the Netherlands.

The accession of Queen Mary was welcomed in consequence. Had she shown real powers of statesmanship it does not seem

Queen Mary impossible that England might have been brought back to the Roman Catholic fold, for the disturbance of Edward VI's reign had produced a painful impression, and Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon and an ardent Roman Catholic, was personally popular. Above all the

monarchy was popular, and the nation would probably have accepted any religious policy that was insisted on by a powerful and successful ruler. And yet the reign of Queen Mary was the time when it became certain that England would not throw in her lot with Roman Catholicism. True, the queen secured the reconciliation of England to Rome, and this step passed with little protest. But, apart from this, mistake followed mistake. The queen married Philip of Spain, and England was dragged by the marriage into a war with France in which she lost Calais. Still more important, exasperated by the opposition that she encountered, and sincerely convinced, as most people were in the sixteenth century, that it was the duty of the State to exterminate heresy, she entered on a course of religious persecution which has no parallel in the history of England, though its cruelty is easily surpassed by the record of religious fanaticism in many other countries, as for instance, France, Spain, the Netherlands, and Ireland. Roman Catholicism was identified by the reign of Queen Mary with the sacrifice of England to the interests of Spain, with weakness and failure at home and abroad, and above all with persecution and cruelty. Had a son been born to Philip and Mary the religious future of the country would have been very doubtful, but the marriage was childless, and the overthrow of the Marian settlement was certain at her death.

Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558 at the age of twenty-five. The marriage of her mother, Anne Boleyn, to Henry VIII, had been the occasion of the schism between the English Church and Rome, and Elizabeth herself had lived through changes and dangers which had taught her caution and had revealed to her the nature of the forces that controlled the life of the nation. She was admirably served by her great ministers—Burleigh, Walsingham, Bacon, Archbishop Parker—and historians will always dispute as to how much of the success of the reign was due to the queen's skill and how much to that of her ministers. Certainly the success was great. In no period of our history are the permanent foundations of the life of England more clearly laid than in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Her religious policy closely resembles that of Henry VIII in its general aims, though there are differences of detail

The queen's religious policy No new Church was to be created the Church of England was a branch of the Catholic Church it was to preserve such of the doctrines, ceremonies and institutions of the earlier time as

were not definitely rejected, it was to be as little fanatical as possible, it was to be as far as possible the Church of the nation, it was not to accept as binding either the formularies of Luther or of Calvin In the queen's mind considerations of policy and national unity were more important than theological orthodoxy She believed herself to be tolerant, and was so if judged by the standards of the sixteenth century and the practice of the states of Europe. She would not, she said, break a window into any man's heart to see what was written there her concern was only with open expressions of opinion and open resistance to the law But she was determined that the Church thus modified should be the only Church in the

Uniformity and supremacy realm An Act of Uniformity (1558) declared that no other form of worship save that of the Church of England would be allowed under heavy penalties, and that all who did not attend the services of the Church of England would be liable to a heavy fine At the same time although the queen refused the title of Supreme Head of the Church, an Act of Supremacy placed the whole control of the Church in her hands, and arranged for the establishment of a Court of High Commission which was to assist her in her ecclesiastical duties

The Church of England thus reformed was a unique establishment in Europe, and was rarely understood or

Singularity of the English Church settlement. appreciated outside of England The followers of Luther and still more the followers of Calvin regarded it as a halfway house, as a compromise based on no principles and aiming only at worldly advantage The Roman Catholics rejected its

claims to Catholicism and regarded it as equally heretical with the Lutheran and the Calvinist Churches In England, too, though Queen Elizabeth's religious policy was generally acceptable it failed to secure universal consent A large

number of Englishmen remained faithful to the Roman obedience and refused to attend the services according to the Book of Common Prayer They were encouraged by a visit of Jesuits in 1580, and hoped and watched for an opportunity of reverting to the old ways There were occasional plots against Elizabeth's power and life in which individual Catholics took part, but on the whole they were not disloyal in spite of the harsh measures of repression which were passed against them The queen had difficulties also with the Protestant dissidents Lutheranism had at one time gained a strong hold in England, and during the persecutions of Queen Mary numbers of English exiles had come into contact with the Calvinists of the Rhine lands and of Switzerland They returned to England, cherishing the ideals of Calvin, regarding the Pope as anti-Christ, and everything connected with the Catholic Church as evil They rejected the vestments and the set prayers of the English Church, and they thought that the Church should be governed by presbyters and synods, and not by Bishops and Archdeacons Their resistance to the Church developed gradually, but before the end of the reign there were two definite currents of Protestant dissent—first Presbyterianism deriving its ideas from Geneva and Calvin and secondly Independency, which broke still further away from the Anglican settlement and the established ceremonies and claimed that each congregation should be a self-governing unit

Against the Roman Catholics measures of great harshness were passed To convert anyone to Roman Catholicism or to be so converted was declared tantamount to High Treason, Jesuits and seminary priests were liable to the penalty of death, all Roman Catholics were liable to crushing fines for various offences against the queen's ecclesiastical legislation A large number of them were put to death, and all lay under the fear of spies and informers, who were encouraged to bring them to trial by the offer of large rewards The Protestant dissenters were more gently handled but severe statutes were passed against them towards the end of the reign, and some lost their lives

for their continued resistance to the queen's ecclesiastical policy

Queen Elizabeth believed that her government was marked by humanity and moderation, and she asked all men to compare her treatment of her religious opponents with the cruelties practised by Philip II in the Netherlands and by the French government in France. Her claims have been often challenged, but they are valid, if they are confined to the soil of England itself. Her policy there was really marked by a moderation and gentleness which Philip II and Catherine de Medici were far from imitating. But a very different impression is produced by the observation of her policy in Ireland, which is marked by panic, by violence and by terrible cruelties. Nor must we forget that the century ends in France with the Edict of Nantes, a measure of religious toleration far nobler and more comprehensive than anything that was known in England until the nineteenth century.

III

The foreign relations of England are sharply cut across by the Reformation, so that there seems at first to be hardly any continuity between the foreign policy of Henry VII and the early years of Henry VIII and that which was pursued by the Tudors after the calling of the Reformation Parliament in 1529. Henry VII, succeeding to the throne, as the result of civil war, and, ruling over a people impoverished by the long confusion of the Wars of the Roses, was chiefly occupied with the problem of maintaining himself upon the throne, enforcing order and encouraging commerce. His strength was to sit still, and he abstained his whole reign through, from all wars that could possibly be avoided, and brought such as he was forced to enter upon to as speedy a conclusion as possible, without any regard to conventional ideas of prestige or honour. He made commercial treaties which opened the trade of the Netherlands to English wool growers and he established good relations with Spain and Scotland by marrying his eldest son Arthur to

Catherine of Aragon and his eldest daughter Margaret to James IV of Scotland Both were marriages big with influence on the sixteenth century For on Arthur's death Catherine was betrothed to Henry VII's second son, who was afterwards Henry VIII, and the repudiation of this marriage was the occasion of the schism with Rome Margaret was the grandmother of Mary Queen of Scots, who inherited her claims upon the English throne, and was the centre of so many of the difficulties of Queen Elizabeth's reign

The reign of Henry VIII was a great contrast to that of his father He was brilliant, popular, attractive, ambitious, and the people weary of the dull successes of Henry VII were eager for a change of system and ready for a foreign policy of adventure Henry VIII had in Wolsey a great administrator and diplomatist Under his guidance England interfered with effect in the complications of European diplomacy, and seemed to determine the balance of power in Europe If the great change had not come, if the religious question had not so soon swallowed up all others, it would have been necessary to say something of his diplomacy and to estimate its measure of success As it is, Wolsey has left a great name in the annals of the country, but has only influenced indirectly the development of English history After 1529 it was religious considerations which chiefly influenced the policy of England, though Henry to the end refused to regard the cause of Continental Protestantism as identical with his own

In such a brief survey as is attempted here the foreign policy of the reigns of Edward VI and of Mary may be almost entirely omitted In the first England looked towards an alliance with the Protestant powers, and in the second swung round into a close union with Spain, which was cemented by the unfortunate marriage of the queen to Philip of Spain - But the reign of Queen Elizabeth is epoch-making in the foreign policy of England as in so much else She was at the beginning of her reign allied with Spain and at war with France, but before its end she was in alliance with France, and during a large part of her reign she was a constant and dangerous opponent of the policy of King Philip of

Spain The change did not come suddenly The queen disliked irrevocable decisions on any subject, and she coquetted with Spain almost up to the sailing of the great Armada in 1588 But various strong forces pushed England into an attitude of hostility to Spain Spain was of all powers in Europe the most aggressively Roman Catholic, and she was the mainstay of the Catholic Reaction, and this, subtly and slowly and almost against the will of the queen, rendered an understanding with Spain impossible Commercial motives

Maritime
adventure
in Eliza-
beth's
reign.

too came to supplement religious England was beginning to know the possibilities of maritime power, her sea captains—traders, pirates, explorers, and adventurers—made their way into the new world in spite of Spanish prohibition Hawkins sold slaves in the Spanish colonies against the express orders of the Spanish government Drake passed through the Straits of Magellan, plundered Spanish settlements on the west coast of South America and returned to England after circumnavigating the globe The English government did not try very much to stop these expeditions, and perhaps could not have stopped them if it had tried They were in the highest degree offensive and aggressive against Spain, and would have led to war earlier if Philip II had not been occupied with so many difficult problems in Europe—at home, in France, and in the Netherlands While England thus drifted into war with Spain she was drawn to France chiefly by the Alliance of common hostility of both countries to Spain, this France and motive operated from almost the beginning of the England reign, and neither the civil-religious wars nor the St Bartholomew Massacre, broke the co-operation between them Even from the religious point of view France was a more natural ally than Spain, for there was, as we have seen, a strong Protestant party in France, which sometimes got better treatment at the hands of the French government through the influence of England The alliance between the two countries grew much more spontaneous and intimate after the murder of Henry III and the accession of Henry of Navarre English troops and English money went to the help of the claimant to the French throne His conversion

did not break the good understanding, for his enemies were the queen's enemies. It was only when James I, on his accession to the English throne, desired to be original in everything that the *entente* with France was in an unhappy hour abandoned.

IV

To complete this survey of English history during the course of the sixteenth century it is necessary to glance at the relations of the country with Scotland and Ireland. The first shows us perhaps the greatest triumph of the policy of Queen Elizabeth, in the second we have a record of blundering failure, with many tragic chapters, which prepares the way for a greater tragedy later on.

At the beginning of the Tudor period Scotland was England's most constant enemy. Small in population (the inhabitants all told did not reach much over half England's a million) and poor in resources, her geographical position, and her relation to England gave her an importance in Europe which she would not otherwise have possessed. Scotland was in a military sense the back door of England, and England could never feel secure while Scotland was leagued with her enemies. Some wise statesmen on either side of the border had cherished the idea of amity and union, but there seemed little prospect of it at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The marriage of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, to James IV of Scotland did indeed ultimately bring the desired union, for their great grandson reigned over both realms as James VI of Scotland and James I of England. But the old antagonism was at the time hardly altered by the marriage. Henry VIII had to fight Scotland hard, and inflicted on her in 1513 the heavy defeat of Flodden. The death of James V in 1542, after he had been utterly routed in the battle of Solway Moss, altered the situation. For his only child was a daughter, Mary, who was only a few days old at her father's death. If she could be married to the English prince this would bring about the union of Scotland with England, as the

marriage of Charles VIII of France to Anne of Brittany in 1491 had led to the incorporation of that province with the royal domain. A marriage was arranged between Mary and Edward VI, but the blundering violence of the Protector Somerset offended Scotch sentiment. Mary was sent to France, and married the Dauphin. The danger to England from Scotland seemed greater than ever and the hostility more pronounced.

It was the Reformation in Scotland that brought about friendship and alliance between the two states and prepared the way for union. The Reformation in Scotland

The Reformation in Scotland and in France. was Calvinist in doctrine and Church government, and the movement has some resemblance to the Huguenot movement in France. Both were Presbyterian, and Knox was probably Calvin's

greatest follower. Both had a strong aristocratic support, which colours the whole of the early history of both movements. As the French nobles were in many instances drawn to religious reform by the excuse it gave for political change, so the nobles of Scotland were attracted by the prospect of the plunder of Church lands. There were many, said Knox, who would never have come to the gospel if greed had not brought them. It is equally clear in both countries that the questionable motives of some of the leaders did not prevent the movement from being adopted by great numbers with a genuine devotion and zeal. But the circumstances of France prevented the Huguenots from dominating France as the Presbyterians of Scotland dominated and controlled the destinies of their country.

There came in 1559 an outbreak of Protestant violence, fomented by the preaching of Knox. The forces of the government were defeated, but still held out in Edinburgh and in Leith. If they could maintain their hold upon the harbour of Leith French help would soon arrive, and the balance of power would

The treaty of Edinburgh, 1560. be reversed. In their difficulty the Protestants appealed to England, and Queen Elizabeth, after much deliberation, sent them help. Leith harbour was taken, and the Treaty of Edinburgh made with the Scotch and French. The French

garrison left Scotland Presbyterianism was established Knox was triumphant (1560) The religious settlement in Scotland was widely different from that of England, but common hostility to the Roman Catholic powers drew the two countries together and went far to efface the bitter hostility that had been engendered by centuries of strife

That is the most important event of Queen Elizabeth's Scotch policy, but what followed supplied romantic and better known incidents On the death of her husband Francis II in 1560 Mary passed over to Scotland and reigned there The pathetic and tragic events of her career are closely entwined with the social and political history of Scotland We cannot follow her personal career here - but we may

note what were the forces that brought about her ruin and ultimately drove her from Scotland to suffer a long imprisonment and a traitor's death in England Her own character doubtless counts for much, but she was pitted against two strong forces First there was the aristocratic quasi-feudal nobility of Scotland, impatient of all control, disliking all governments in proportion as they were strong and effective, hating especially any member of their own order who was raised into authority over them. The French nobles had had something of the same character and aims, but the monarchy had gone far in the process of taming the aristocracy of France The Scotch nobles were at the height of their power If some power stronger than the Scotch monarchy had not controlled them Scotland might have fallen into the masterless confusion of Poland Some of the Scotch nobles would have fitted easily into the Diet at Warsaw, and would have exercised the *liberum veto* as recklessly as any Polish nobles ever did Next Mary came into conflict with Presbyterianism The Kirk of Scotland inspired and organised by Knox, was a dangerous rival to the state Mary was not a fanatical Catholic, she was no voluntary martyr for her religious faith But she was a Catholic by temperament history and interest, and she came into violent collision with the joint forces of Presbyterianism and feudalism There was a moment when her triumph seemed possible Her enemies seemed beaten, and even England was defeated

The fall
of Mary
Queen of
Scots

in the encounter of diplomacy. Then came a storm of personal passion upon her which gave her enemies the victory. James the son of Mary succeeded to the throne of Scotland upon his mother's forced abdication in 1567, and as Queen Elizabeth steadily refused to marry, he succeeded to the English throne in 1603. The nobles of Scotland saw with alarm this great increase in the power of the Crown.

V

The sixteenth century was of decisive importance for Ireland too. When Henry VII came to the throne the hold of the English government upon Ireland was exceedingly weak. Outside of the pale—a small district in south-east Ireland—that government could hardly be said to exist, and even inside the pale the influence of England seemed on the decline. The Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses had engaged the attention of England elsewhere, and her control of Ireland had diminished in consequence. The Tudor monarchy was strong at home and Ireland soon felt its strength. The independent authority of the Irish nobles was beaten down, their castles were destroyed, by Poyning's Acts (1494) the legislative authority of the English Parliament was practically extended over Ireland. Henry VIII carried on the work of his father. When the breach with Rome was consummated he took the title of King of Ireland instead of Lord. The Reformation, though it wore an ugly face in Ireland—destroying the monasteries which were the chief basis of her religious life, forcing on her a Church which she felt to be far more alien than that of Rome, and services in the English language which her people understood less than Latin—raised little open opposition at first. The heart of Ireland beat slowly, there were no organs of public opinion, a national self-consciousness had not yet arisen.

The reigns of Edward and Mary need not detain us, but the reign of Elizabeth marked a new epoch in Irish history. It is a tale of ignorance, weakness, cruelty and failure. The

queen would never have been called Good Queen Bess on her Irish record. What were her objects? What methods did she employ to realize them?

No two countries could be more unlike than Ireland and the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. Yet the aims with which Philip II despatched Alva to the Netherlands in 1567 were closely parallel to those of Queen Elizabeth and her advisers in their dealings with Ireland. Philip II desired to rule in the Netherlands as he ruled in Spain, he desired to establish a uniform constitution for the seventeen provinces, he believed that the political unity of the country must needs rest on ecclesiastical unity. And Queen Elizabeth too desired to rule as well as reign in Ireland; to efface the local differences and provincial customs which broke the unity of Ireland to assimilate Ireland in every way to England, and to base the unity of Ireland upon the general acceptance of the English Church. She proposed too (and this finds no parallel in the scheme of Philip) to confiscate large tracts of Irish land, to people them with English settlers, who should act as a permanent garrison to support the English system.

Failure is written across the whole Irish policy of the queen's reign. The imported Church did not flourish, the English settlers were driven out. The enemies of England—and especially the papal and Spanish enemies—intrigued in Ireland and co-operated in the rebellions that broke out. The land was conquered and laid waste; but no basis had been laid for a new era in Ireland. Perhaps the chief permanent result of the reign in Ireland was this. The Roman Catholic Church became identified with the Irish nation and its independence as it never had been before. The religious movements of the century drew Scotland and England together, they drove Ireland and England asunder. Lord Burleigh thus summed up the English policy in Ireland. "The Flemings had not such cause to rebel against the oppression of the Spaniards as the Irish against the tyranny of England."

Queen Elizabeth and Ireland and Philip II in the Netherlands

Failure of Queen Elizabeth in Ireland.

VI

The greatest fact about sixteenth-century England has not yet been mentioned. No one could tell the history of Italy in the sixteenth century without mentioning the names of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Titian and Machiavelli, and it is equally absurd in telling the history of England during the century to confine our attention to war, diplomacy and ecclesiastical strife and to make no mention of the great movement of the English mind which bore such glorious flower and fruit from the beginning of the century to far beyond its end. Few phenomena in history are so difficult to account for as these outbursts of intellectual activity and no attempt will be made here to speculate on the causes of the sudden intellectual maturity of the English genius in the sixteenth century. In painting England produced no native genius to rival the great artists of the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and France. Great painting was done in England, but it was done by foreigners, such as Holbein, not by Englishmen. And England produced no sculptors of note. But in every other department of intellectual activity England claimed an equality with the best that was done elsewhere, and in some departments she took an unquestioned lead. Her theologians were not great founders of systems and movements like Luther, Zwingli and Calvin, but Sir Thomas More, Cranmer, Latimer, and Archbishop Parker were in their different ways religious influences of great importance. Bacon is a great name in pure literature, but a greater in the history of science. His claims to scientific eminence have been disputed and his position is difficult to define. His greatness is perhaps rather that of a pioneer and a prophet than of an actual discoverer, if there is something in him that foretells Darwin and Newton, there is much also, even in his scientific writings, that reminds us that he lived in the age of Shakespeare. This last and greatest name teaches us that poetry was almost as much the characteristic product of sixteenth-century England as painting was of Italy a little earlier. It has been said that the painters of Italy gave to the world a new sense and a

new faculty of enjoyment The poetical product of Elizabethan England is hardly less novel and assuredly not less important Poetry is indeed not only the greatest but also the earliest of the arts, and the world would have had great poetry even if Shakespeare and the Elizabethans had never existed But modern poetry without the influence that gradually streamed on to it from Elizabethan England is almost unthinkable It gave a new vision of man and nature, a new conception of the rôle of poetry, a new sense of beauty that will never pass from the hoarded treasure of mankind

Two volumes (v and vi) in the *Political History of England*, by H A L Fisher and A F Pollard, deal admirably with the Tudor period Froude's *History of England* gives in ten volumes the history of England from 1529 to 1588 Green's *Short History of the English People* is recommended for this and for all chapters dealing with English history Hallam's *Constitutional History of England* is very useful The *Lives of Wolsey* by Creighton, of Henry VIII by Pollard, and of Queen Elizabeth by Beesly, are interesting and suggestive Prothero's *Statutes and Constitutional Documents (1558-1625)* is invaluable for further study, as also *The Evolution of Parliament* by A F Pollard

CHAPTER VII

The Thirty Years' War

IN 1617 Protestant Germany held a festival to commemorate the challenge which Luther had flung down at the feet of the papacy a century before, which had led to the breaking away of two-thirds of Germany from allegiance to Rome. Since the Peace of Augsburg (1555) the peace of Germany had not been seriously disturbed. Both towns and country districts were flourishing, and the wealth of Germany had wonderfully increased during the past half century. But next year there broke out the Thirty Years' War—the most terrible war perhaps that Europe had ever known, certainly the most terrible since the close of the Middle Ages. England has known nothing that can be compared to it, though Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries passed through something like the same catastrophe.

There was abundance of material long prepared for the great conflagration. The sixty years that had passed since the Peace of Augsburg had profoundly modified the religious situation. The heart seemed to have gone out of Lutheranism. Luther's teaching had been simple, reasonable and humane, but since his death Lutheranism had been plunged into bitter theological controversies. The Lutheran creed was defined amidst continual strife. In some of the states which had accepted the new faith a spiritual tyranny was set up greater than what Germany had known before the Reformation.

The control of religious matters had been placed by the Peace of Augsburg in the hands of the rulers of the different states, and in most instances these allowed neither freedom of worship nor freedom of thought. The outlook of Protestantism in Germany would have been hopeless if its fate had depended only on the energies of the Lutherans, but the Calvinist faith had spread Calvinism widely, and it inspired those who accepted it with greater energy and devotion, while it was neither more obscure nor less humane than its rival. The supporters of the two creeds regarded one another with the bitterest hostility. No co-operation was possible except under pressure of extreme common danger. Saxony and Brandenburg, the most important states of Protestant Germany, remained Lutheran, though the Elector of Brandenburg passed over to the Calvinist camp before long. The chief support of the Calvinist cause (or the "evangelical" church as it was called, while the Lutherans were officially called the "reformed" church) was to be found in Frederick, the Elector of the Palatinate and the son-in-law of James I of England. He was not a great ruler, but he had energy and enterprise, while the rulers of Saxony and Brandenburg were timid and vacillating.

While the Protestant forces were thus divided and lifeless, a fierce new energy had been infused into the Catholic cause by the Catholic reaction, whose chief forces we have analyzed in a previous chapter. The decisions of the Council of Trent had codified the Catholic faith. The Jesuits spread over the land, preaching and teaching with great ability, and urging on all the Catholic powers of Germany aggressive energy. The chief force among the German princes who sympathized with the Catholic reaction was Maximilian of Bavaria. The Protestants were expelled from his dominions, and many a state which was faltering in its allegiance to Rome was brought back to genuine loyalty. It had seemed for a moment as if Cologne were about to pass over to Protestantism, when the Archbishop had declared himself a Calvinist, but he had been quickly deposed and the movement repressed. So dangerous was the threatening attitude of

Catholicism that in 1608 the Evangelical Union was formed. The Palatinate was the chief member and was followed by Hesse, Baden, and Wurtemberg, the most prominent of the Lutheran states, Saxony and Brandenburg, stood coldly aloof. In the next year (1609), the Evangelical Union was confronted with the Catholic League. Maximilian of Bavaria was the heart and soul of the new movement, the chief ecclesiastical states joined with him, and the League was supported by the emperor. Both organizations spoke only of defence, but the League was full of hope that Protestantism would be crushed in the land that had given it birth. Here was material enough for a great religious war.

The political causes of the war are equally clear. The House of Hapsburg had failed in its efforts to make the empire into a real government, and the Peace of Augsburg had given complete evidence of that failure. But the hope was not abandoned. Everywhere (except in England) there seemed a clear tendency towards concentration of power in the hands of the sovereign. The tendency was well marked in the different German states. Why should it fail in the Germanic body as a whole?

The emperors of this period were not men of great ability, the House of Hapsburg had produced few such, and the standard of ability was generally low among the rulers of Germany at this epoch. Rudolf II succeeded to the Imperial throne in 1576, and reigned until 1612. He had been brought up in Spain, and was a pupil of the Jesuits and an eager supporter of the Catholic reaction. But mental trouble, such as so often threatened the House of Hapsburg, showed itself before the end of the reign, and his brother, Matthias, ruled in effect before he succeeded to the throne. The possessions of the House of Hapsburg were very large, and the emperor was in close alliance with Spain, Austria, and Spain, where another branch of the House of Hapsburg ruled. It seemed quite possible that the emperor might derive such strength from his personal possessions in Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, and elsewhere, and from the support of his Spanish ally, as would allow him to beat

down all opposition in Germany, and make of the empire the true government which it had been in the days of Henry IV and Frederick Barbarossa. They could count on the support of the Catholic League, for the Protestant powers were the chief enemies of the Imperial authority.

Thus the political and religious motives for the war were at first combined, but it will be well to notice here that they did not co-operate throughout, and that their divergence in the end proved fatal to the highest hopes of both. When Germany lay at the emperor's feet in 1629, the Elector of Bavaria, and other Roman Catholic powers felt at once how seriously their cherished independence was threatened, and it was their jealousy which gave the oppressed Protestants their chance of survival.

There were threatenings of war before the actual outbreak, and the sword was first drawn in Bohemia. That country was mainly Protestant and Lutheran, and the nobles were for the most part supporters of the new faith. The Bohemian monarchy had

in the past been regarded as elective, but Matthias had been King of Bohemia as well as emperor, and in 1617 the Bohemians accepted as their future king, Ferdinand of Styria, a zealous Catholic and partisan of the League, whose accession to the Imperial title was already assured.

But then there came at once a controversy on religious matters, the Bohemians protested against the demolition of Protestant churches, which had

been carried out in spite of an Imperial promise to the contrary. A riot broke out in Prague. The Imperial representatives were thrown from the windows of the Castle (this is the famous "defenestration" of Prague), and thus the signal was given for thirty

years of intense suffering in nearly all German lands. The Bohemians looked for support and offered their crown in vain to Lutheran princes. It was accepted at last by Frederick, the Calvinist Elector of the Palatinate. And the war began.

The prominent features of the war are the great and increasing brutality of the struggle, the interference of foreign powers in a war which chiefly concerned Germany.

alone, its long duration, and the indescribable sufferings of the German people. The political condition of Germany largely accounted for these characteristics. The power of the empire was small, but it had prevented the different states from organizing themselves on a national basis. The armies that were engaged were mainly mercenary troops brought together by pay and the prospect of plunder. The Swedish army was the only exception to this, and after the death of the King of Sweden in 1632 even that army was soon indistinguishable in character from any of the others. Thus Germany was in the power of troops who had no interest in the cause for which they were fighting, nor in the welfare of the land. As the interminable Mercenary war proceeded there grew up a vast body of soldiers who looked to the operations of war and the opportunities of plunder which it provided as their means of livelihood and regarded the non-combatants as game to be hunted down. Further, the German struggle drew the attention of all the powers of Europe, but especially of the neighbours of Germany. Denmark and Sweden joined in for the protection of Protestantism and the protection of their possessions in Germany. France interfered to check the dangerous growth of Austrian power. Had Germany been left to herself the struggle would have soon ended in the victory of Catholicism. Foreign powers interfered and saved the Protestant cause, but the intervention plunged Germany into an abyss of ruin that is hardly credible.

The first phase of the war was soon over. Frederick of the Palatine, the new King of Bohemia, found no real support in Germany. The Imperial forces were slowly collected, but then under Tilly they advanced into Bohemia, and in 1620 overwhelmed the forces of Frederick in the Battle of the White Mountain, just outside Prague. In his distress Frederick found no one to help him. His own territories were invaded and he was soon a fugitive on Dutch soil, petitioning his father-in-law, the King of England, in vain for effective means of restoration. A terrible fate fell on Bohemia—a fit prelude to the later horrors of the war. Many of the emperor's opponents were executed.

huge tracts of land were confiscated and heavy fines exacted great numbers were driven into exile Bohemia was plunged into the direst distress, and it is estimated that during the thirty years of the war the population fell from more than four millions to less than one The emperor's agents acted as a few years later Cromwell was to act in Ireland The country was converted from a mainly Protestant to a Catholic country

Soon the Bohemian war lit the flames of a greater struggle The Imperial troops occupied the Palatinate Their victorious presence threatened the Protestant states of the north, and the emperor had now to carry out the promises which he had made to the Catholic League The danger of Protestantism A portion of the territories of Frederick (the upper Palatinate) was transferred to Maximilian of Bavaria who received at the same time the title of Elector This gave the Roman Catholics in the Diet an increased majority It was clear that the Protestants must bestir themselves, if they wished to retain anything of their independence and privileges

They found a champion in the King of Denmark, who, as Duke of Holstein, was also a German power The Protestant armies had a capable leader in Mansfeld, and they were helped by a rising in the far east of the emperor's dominions, where Bethlen Gabor raised Intervention of Denmark an insurrection in Transylvania But all hopes of a successful Protestant resistance soon disappeared There rose on the Imperial side a soldier greater even than Tilly This was Wallenstein, a Bohemian noble, who, by origin a Protestant, had at an early date changed his faith and had transferred his services to the emperor He was the one great military leader of talent who appeared among the Germans during the war, and he was a Bohemian not a German. He collected an army of the ordinary mercenary type, and, as his capacity was recognized and his liberality to the soldiers was known, his camp became the refuge of the most ambitious and daring of adventurers The helpless peasantry were pillaged by Wallenstein as remorselessly as by the other commanders, but more methodically, and his troops were kept in good order by lavish rewards and cruel punishments His high powers as organizer and strategist are unquestioned, and his ambition

was so great that he aimed at last at making himself the ruler of all Germany. His larger and better disciplined forces soon defeated the armies that gathered under Mansfield and the King of Denmark. Mansfield died. The Danish king was defeated. Nearly all the towns and states of the north-west were in Wallenstein's power. He laid siege to Stralsund in 1628 and swore he would take it "though it were fastened by chains to heaven." But the heroism of the defence and the presence of a Swedish contingent in the garrison saved it. Here was an omen of future change in the balance of parties, but for the present Wallenstein had made the emperor master in Germany as no emperor had been since the beginning of the Reformation.

It is probable that this position might have been maintained and that a subtle policy might have found in it the basis of an enduring power. But Catholicism had triumphed as well as Imperialism, and the interests of the two were in conflict. The Catholic League had been the chief support of the emperor in Germany, and Maximilian of Bavaria, its head, was jealous of the power of Wallenstein and eager to see the Church reap its reward. So the emperor issued in 1629 the Edict of Restitution, whereby it was decreed that all ecclesiastical property which had come into lay hands since 1552 must be restored to ecclesiastical authorities. Doubtless the edict had legal warrant. It was but the execution of the Peace of Augsburg, and the Peace of Augsburg had been accepted by both parties. But the edict implied a vast revolution. Two Archbishoprics, twelve Bishoprics, and a great number of monastic establishments would be taken from occupants, who in many instances had had half a century of unchallenged possession. Yet what hope was there? The armies of Wallenstein were irresistible by any German power.

The first sign of relief for the Protestant cause came in the growing hostility to Wallenstein's personal power among his own allies. Maximilian hated and feared him. The emperor had begun to entertain suspicions of him, he scarcely concealed his dislike of the Edict of Restitution. There was a meeting of the Diet at Ratisbon.

in 1630 France sent thither Father Joseph, the trusted instrument of Richelieu. He stimulated the members of the Diet in their dislike of Wallenstein. They demanded of the emperor his dismissal, and he, jealous himself and hoping for other concessions from the Diet, gave the necessary orders. Men wondered whether Wallenstein would obey, but he yielded without resistance and retired to Bohemia. His talents were so great and his successes in the past had been so remarkable that this could not be the end of his career. When he reappeared he would pursue an even more egoistic policy, and show less consideration for the emperor.

The emperor had lost his greatest general and his army had been decreased at the same time. And just at this moment a new combatant entered the arena. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden landed in Germany in July, 1630.

Sweden had been united with Norway and Denmark at the beginning of the sixteenth century under the rule of Christian II. Then came rebellion against his rule on religious and political grounds. He was deposed and imprisoned. Norway and Denmark chose for themselves a new king. Sweden fell into the power of Gustavus Vasa, who had led the revolt and established Protestantism. The crown was made hereditary in his family, but the acceptance of the Lutheran confession was made a condition of rule. Gustavus Adolphus had succeeded to the throne in 1611.

He was a most sincere and zealous Protestant, and the cry of despair from his co-religionists in Germany pierced to his heart. But there were other motives beside religious ones which brought him into Germany. Sweden aimed at the control of the Baltic, and saw with alarm the triumph of the Imperial troops on its shores. The royal house of Poland—a Catholic branch of the Vasas—were claimants to the throne of Sweden, and the victory of the Catholic reaction in Germany would vastly increase their chances. Religion, commerce, and the interest of the dynasty led Gustavus to Germany, but in him alone, of the prominent actors of the war, the influence of religion took precedence of other motives. He

led an army different from those which Germany had hitherto known Sweden was very poor, and the Swedes became later as prominent among the mercenary soldiers of the north as the Swiss had been among those of the south But in 1630 they were not mercenaries They formed a national army inspired by national pride and religious zeal, and were held in strict discipline Gustavus, too, was the great soldier of the age He made more use of artillery than his predecessors, and constant drill had given to his troops a swiftness of movement which their opponents could not attain to

There was little to encourage him at his first entry into Germany The success of the Imperial armies had been so great and the sufferings of their opponents so intense that there was no eagerness to rise George of Magdeburg, the Elector of Brandenburg, and John George of Saxony, to whom Gustavus naturally looked for assistance, stood vacillating and selfish Tilly advanced upon the great city of Magdeburg on the Elbe, which was included in the Edict of Restitution but refused to surrender The co-operation of Saxony and Brandenburg would have allowed Gustavus to save the place Their refusal was its doom It fell to the assault of Tilly, and the inhabitants were subjected to pillage and slaughter in a way which sent a thrill of horror through Germany Both Brandenburg and Saxony now joined, thoroughly alarmed at last by the emperor's threats, and Gustavus, the "Lion of the North" as he came to be called, could take aggressive action

In September, 1631, he met Tilly at Breitenfeld in the neighbourhood of Leipzig The greater tactical skill of Gustavus and the nimbler movement of his troops gave him a decisive victory At a blow the supremacy of the emperor in Germany was wiped out, and Vienna seemed to lie at Gustavus' mercy But instead of marching on Vienna he preferred to attack the ecclesiastical states on the Danube, the Main, and the Rhine No effective resistance was made anywhere Tilly was defeated on the river Lech, and died of his wounds Bavaria and Munich, the headquarters of the Catholic League, fell into

the hands of Gustavus Protestantism, which but yesterday was trembling for its life, seemed now assured of triumph

The emperor turned in his despair to Wallenstein He and he alone seemed capable of meeting the Swedish king He was already busied with vast and vague schemes, Death of and it was by no means certain that he would Gustavus come to the emperor's help But the emperor treated him as an equal, promised him independent power over the armies, and he consented to buckle on his armour once more The prestige of his name was enough to gather a large army, and he showed himself the equal of Gustavus in strategy The fighting was first round Nurnberg, where certainly Gustavus won no advantage Then in November, 1632, at Lutzen, near to the battle-field where he had crushed Tilly, Gustavus met his great antagonist A long and fierce encounter took place under a pall of heavy mist Wallenstein was beaten and drew his troops off the field, but it was no real victory for the Protestants, for Gustavus had fallen in the heat of the battle, and there was no one to take his place as soldier or as statesman

So the pendulum soon swung violently back, but first the strange tragedy of Wallenstein's life was played out The death of Gustavus made Wallenstein much less necessary The than he had been before, but at the same time it schemes of removed an antagonist who had stood in the way of Wallenstein his schemes It is impossible to say exactly what was the goal of his ambitions after the battle of Lutzen, but certainly they looked beyond the position of a subject He turned a deaf ear to the emperor's commands, he negotiated with France, even with the Swedes It is quite possible that he thought of displacing the Hapsburgs and ruling Germany in his own right

The emperor Ferdinand had no armed force to set against Wallenstein's army, but there were officers of his who were willing to serve the emperor's purposes He Death of entered into a conspiracy against his own general, Wallenstein and in February, 1634, Wallenstein was assassinated by his own officers Their names were Devereux, Butler, and Gordon, Irish and Scotch adventurers who had sought and found their fortunes in Wallenstein's camp

Wallenstein's army was now the emperor's The Swedish army after Gustavus' death soon sank to the level of the Battle of others, and spread a wide track of desolation Nord- behind it as it marched hither and thither lingen followed by camp followers more numerous than the combatants, and quite as greedy and cruel The Protestant army was encountered at Nordlingen in July, 1634, and utterly beaten The battle was nearly as important as Breitenfeld, for if that battle saved the existence of Protestantism, Nordlingen saved Catholicism from destruction

There were yet fourteen years of warfare before the tortured land had peace Again, if Protestantism were to find a helper it must be from beyond the frontiers of Germany Interference of France It was from a Roman Catholic Cardinal, from Richelieu the all-powerful minister of the French king, that help came He had watched the course of the war with close attention, he had contributed to the dismissal of Wallenstein in 1630, and had helped Gustavus with money He now took the shattered forces of the Protestant league into the pay of France, and under the command of Bernard of Weimar they held their own and gained victories In 1635, France declared war against Spain, which had all through been the ally of the emperor, and thus became a direct combatant

Henceforth, amidst all the confusion, this division of forces may be noted The Swedes under Torstenson, as a soldier no unworthy successor of Gustavus, were occupied in the east of Germany, and before the end they gained victories which recalled Breitenfeld and Lutzen, while the French armies were usually engaged on the Rhine and the Belgian frontier The French were at first unsuccessful, but soon great soldiers emerged, the Turenne impetuous Prince of Condé and Turenne, the great and Condé tactician The diplomacy of Richelieu raised enemies against Spain in her own peninsula, where Catalonia rebelled in 1640 There had been negotiations for peace for a long time past, but each side hoped for a decisive issue, and the armies composed of professional soldiers, many of whom had never known peace, were ready enough to fight on. the suffering country

found no voice The decisive battles turned out to be victories for France At Rocroi in 1643 the Spanish veteran infantry was broken for the first time by Condé, and the blow was driven home again at Lens Richelieu died in 1642, but he found an able successor in Mazarin, and it was Mazarin who conducted the negotiations which led to the peace Ferdinand III, who had succeeded Ferdinand II in 1637, bowed at last to necessity, and the Peace of Westphalia was, after long negotiations, signed in 1648

Europe has known no more important Treaty It may be taken as marking the end of the Reformation era and Europe still bears the traces of its decisions

Religiously the war ended in a drawn battle Gustavus, and Richelieu, and Mazarin had saved Protestantism from annihilation, but the work of the Catholic Reaction was not undone The south and west of Germany remained Catholic, but the north was Protestant, whether in the Lutheran or the Calvinist form The Edict of Restitution was withdrawn All ecclesiastical property taken by Protestants before 1624 was to remain in their hands Calvinism was given the same privileges as Lutheranism, but otherwise the conditions of the Peace of Augsburg were renewed There was no religious freedom for the individual but only for the State. But slowly the principle of religious liberty developed as a consequence of the Peace The time for religious coercion was soon to pass away

Imperialism had been far more decisively beaten than Catholicism It had gained nothing Germany was more divided than ever The great states, Brandenburg, Saxony, Bavaria, and some others, were entirely independent They used phrases of loyalty to the empire, but neither in war nor in foreign policy, neither in administration nor in justice, did they admit of any interference The extent of the subdivision of Germany is barely credible There were now reckoned 343 sovereign states, made up of 158 secular states, 123 ecclesiastical and 62 Imperial cities The Hapsburgs henceforth concentrated their attention on their

hereditary dominions, and as in these their non-German subjects far exceeded their German they ceased to be a truly German power. The empire had all but ended, what remained impeded the growth of healthy national life in Germany, but had little other result.

Among the German powers there were some changes of importance. Bavaria kept the upper Palatinate and the Electoral title. The lower Palatinate became an eighth Electorate, and was given to the son of the unfortunate "King of Bohemia," whose ambitions had opened the war. Brandenburg, where Frederick William, Palatinate soon to be known as the great Elector, had succeeded in 1640, gained Eastern Pomerania and the important city of Magdeburg, which commanded the chief crossing of the Elbe. Switzerland and the United Netherlands were recognized at last as independent of the empire.

The claim of France to the three Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun was recognized, and all Alsace (with the exception of Strassburg and certain districts) also became French. In both cases there was some vagueness as to the exact limit of the territories conceded. This ambiguity led to further French aggressions, in the reign of Louis XIV.

Sweden made considerable gains. Western Pomerania remained in her hands as well as the district round the mouth of the Oder with Verden and Bremen and some other towns. The door seemed open for indefinite aggression on her part, and it seemed not impossible that she might establish a permanent dominion in north Germany. But it proved otherwise. Her population was small, her soil poor, and the enterprises of this and the next generation exhausted her resources. It was well for her that her career of conquest was stayed, and her efforts turned towards the peaceful development of her own lands, a task in which she has achieved a wonderful success.

But when we have summarized the results achieved by diplomacy in the Treaty of Westphalia we have by no means finished with the results of the war. The most important

was this, that Germany ceased for half a century to count as an important force in European politics, and quite a century had to pass before she quite recovered from the effects of the war. For thirty years the land had known no settled peace in any part. The country districts were almost deserted. Internal traffic was almost suspended. Serious historians estimate that the population of the whole land decreased by at least two-thirds. The population of Bohemia had fallen to less than a quarter, that of Berlin from 24,000 to 6000. Commerce, education, literature, art, had nearly disappeared. The people seemed brutalized in mind and manners. No high ideals were left in religion or high aims in statesmanship. No other European state, except Ireland, has ever passed through such a purgatory. The effacement of Germany gave France a clear path for her ambition, and accounts for some of the chief features of the Age of Louis XIV.

S R Gardmer, *The Thirty Years' War* C R Fletcher, *Gustavus Adolphus* Schiller, *Thirty Years' War* Bain's *Scandinavia* Schiller's tragedies, *Piccolomini* and *Wallenstein*, may be read with profit

CHAPTER VIII

The Growth of the French Monarchy Richelieu and Mazarin

THE death of Henry IV in 1610, seemed to overthrow all the plans that he had formed both for domestic and for foreign affairs. The regency was placed in the hands of his queen, Marie de' Medici. She had not been well in France treated by her husband, and she entertained ideas on policy wholly different from his. Her aim was to unite the royal family of France with that of Spain, which had hitherto been its most decided antagonist. Opinion in France was opposed to her schemes, and there were rebellious movements among the

aristocracy and the Protestants, but she showed more energy than was usual with her, and in 1612 the marriage treaties were signed Louis XIII, at this time eleven years old, was betrothed to Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III, King of Spain, and the Spanish prince who was afterwards Philip IV, was at the same time betrothed to Elizabeth of France There followed in French history a period of great confusion, which we must not attempt to disentangle A meeting of the States-General was summoned in 1614, but no definite result came of it, and it is chiefly remembered in history because it is the last of these gatherings of the representatives of the kingdom which we meet with, until the States-General were called again in 1789 to usher in the great Revolution

We reach a decisive and epoch-making event when, in 1624, Cardinal Richelieu entered the councils of the king His first appearance in public life was as an advisor of the queen, and there had not been anything hitherto in his career to show the great destinies that awaited him But from 1624, until his death in 1642, he was the most notable and influential figure in European history

He was a bishop, a cardinal, and a devout Catholic, yet there was no statesman in Europe who was more disliked at Rome than he was "Pope of the Huguenots," and "Patriarch of Atheists" were nicknames which were given to him His position was, indeed, a curious one A Catholic and the minister of a Catholic king, he was nevertheless found constantly in league with the Protestant powers of Europe, and at a moment when the Pope and the Emperor saw a good chance of overwhelming Protestantism in Germany—its first home, and the country which had given birth to Luther—it was Richelieu who crossed their path and saved the existence of Protestantism His position is explained by the fact that the theological controversies of the Reformation period were no longer as influential as they had been, and that now political, national, and dynastic interests were taking precedence of religious motives Richelieu worked for two objects, which in his eyes were two phases of the same object He desired to establish the authority of the King of France in absolute supremacy within the borders

of the country, and to do this he would beat down all rival authorities, nobles, Protestants, Parlements, provincial assemblies, and he desired, at the same time, to make France supreme in Europe, and with that end in view to overthrow the allied powers of Austria and of Spain. He was a man of poor physique and of weak health, yet so great was his strength of will, and so thorough his understanding of the political and domestic situation in France and in Europe, that he dominated a period which seemed to be ruled by physical force. He was one of the greatest statesmen, and probably the greatest diplomatist, that France has known.

His domestic and his foreign policy are closely united throughout. But for purposes of clearness it will be well to separate the two, and we will begin with his domestic policy.

The Protestants were the first enemy that attracted his attention. He seems to have had little or no hostility to their faith, and there was no statesman in Europe who was more ready to accept toleration of different creeds as the basis of the life of the state. But the powers which had been given to the Protestants by the Edict of Nantes made them an obstacle to that unity under the monarchy which he had set before him as his aim. The Huguenots had a right to hold synods which were almost parliaments, and their control of the garrisons of certain towns made them a military power independent of the king. There was more than one war before the end came, but in 1627 he proceeded to attack the great harbour and fortress of La Rochelle, which was the chief stronghold of Protestantism in France. The Huguenots had taken up arms largely in reliance upon assistance from England, and they had hoped, too, that Richelieu would be attacked by the nobles, who saw in him the most determined enemy of the claims of their order. Richelieu, Cardinal though he was, superintended the siege, which was one of the most notable in the whole history of France. The English assistance was beaten off, aristocratic plots were unravelled, and defeated, and, although the Huguenots defended their city with unsurpassed heroism, starvation at last did its work upon them, and the city fell into the hands of Richelieu and the king. Only a

few more places still held out after this, and in August, 1629, all was over. Richelieu made a new treaty with the Huguenots, the Peace of Alais, by which he renewed to them all the promises of religious liberty contained in the Edict of Nantes, but he took from them their special military standing, and advised them for the future to trust to the honour and the word of the king. He was himself undoubtedly sincere in the promises that he gave, but in less than seventy years the Protestants were to find how weak a defence was the royal honour when undermined by the subtle influence of religious bigotry.

The Protestants of France had looked to the nobles for assistance in resisting their common enemy, the Crown, and Richelieu, during the whole of his public life, waged incessant war against the pretensions and powers of the great nobles. The days of feudalism were over, and there was no noble who could any longer deal with the Government upon a footing of equality. But the nobles were still rich, powerful, and warlike, and full of a strong sense of the claims and privileges of their order. In spite of all the blows that they had received, they remained the most serious rival of the royal authority in France.

The strangest feature of the situation during Richelieu's administration was, that while he was upholding the authority of the Crown against the power of the nobles, the nobles found a constant ally in the members of the royal family. There was some part even of the king's nature which sympathized with them and with their aspirations. The queen gave them assistance, or at least opposed their great antagonist. The Queen Mother, Marie de' Medici, and the king's brother, Gaston of Orleans, were constantly conspiring with them for the overthrow of the Cardinal, though he was the king's chief minister and the main upholder of the royal power. Richelieu's life was passed in an endless series of plots and intrigues, which have provided material for many romances and dramas, and were a serious obstacle to the realization of his plans. He seemed often on the point of overthrow, but triumphed in the end. The Queen Mother was driven as an exile into England and into Belgium.

Gaston of Orleans was defeated and pardoned again and again, and at last relapsed into sulky acquiescence in Richelieu's *regime*. Against the nobles he acted with less scruple than against princes of the blood. When in 1632 the Duke of Montmorency joined with Gaston and the Duke of Lorraine, he paid the penalty of rebellion with his life. In 1641 the Comte de Soissons was killed in an insurrection which he headed, and thus escaped the scaffold with which Richelieu menaced him. At the very end of his life Richelieu found **The plot of Cinq Mars**, a favourite of the king, plotting against him and intriguing with Spain. Neither his high rank nor the king's favour saved him from the scaffold to which Richelieu destined the king's chief enemies. But it was not only by battle and the headsman's axe that Richelieu struck down the opposition of the nobles. More subtle and permanent methods were also used. He forbade, under heavy penalties, the practice of duelling, which may be regarded as the last remnant of private warfare. The castles which were scattered over France, from which the great nobles had dominated and terrorized the country, were in many instances blown up with gunpowder. More seriously still, the authority of the nobles in the provinces was **Intendants** destroyed by the development of a new type of officials. As governors of the provinces the nobles had hitherto exercised great power, and had found sometimes in this office the means of resisting the king. But Richelieu now chose, as the chief agents of the Crown in all the provinces, men usually of middle class origin, who bore the title of Superintendants of Police and Finance. They are usually known as Intendants. The nobles still remained in many instances in nominal possession of the provincial governments, but they found that the reality of power rested with these men, who were supported by the whole force of the central government, and in whose hands lay the raising of troops and of taxes and the administration of law. From this time to the Revolution the Intendants remained, next to the king's ministers, the most important officials in France. They exercised within their districts an authority almost absolute, and were sometimes called the "provincial kings" of France. But their authority never encroached on

that of the Crown, and their chief function was to support and develop the royal power

Richelieu's aims excluded all idea of representative government. He had himself been a member of the States-General

of 1614, but he always refused to summon a body of whose hostility to the ideas of his system he was well assured. Nor were the Parlements of France more favoured than the States-General. They

remained important judicial corporations; they were not allowed to extend their function to interference in legislation or policy. The representative bodies in the provinces—the

so-called "provincial estates"—also incurred his enmity.

Where an excuse had been furnished by insurrection or dangerous discontent they were entirely destroyed, and the direct government of royal officials (*clous*) was substituted for

them. But even where provincial estates were still allowed to subsist, they were treated with severity,

and a great portion of their power passed to the royal officials. The only body which Richelieu ever willingly called into his

counsels was an assembly of the great men of the realm who were chosen and invited by the king. They were known as

the "Notables", their function was to offer advice, which it was at the king's choice to accept or reject.

They could not in any way, therefore, encroach on the royal authority, and thus doubtless explains Richelieu's favour.

The machinery of the monarchy was organized and developed by him. It was from the council of the king that all authority

proceeded, and the council was organized and divided into separate bodies dealing with special

tasks. It was this carefully organized council which governed France throughout the coming age of Louis XIV, and controlled the fortunes of the country until the great Revolution overturned all.

But it was upon foreign, not upon domestic, policy that Richelieu's eyes were most constantly fixed, and his influence

upon the great contest of the Thirty Years' War and the international relations of Europe generally

was decisive. It may be questioned whether any other diplomatist, until the time of Bismarck, has ever

exercised so far-reaching a power The story of his diplomacy is intricate, and in its details most interesting, but here the results must be summarized in the shortest possible fashion

He aimed at the defeat of the joint Hapsburg power of Austria and Spain, in which he saw the true rival of France, and the only impediment to the dominion of France in The Valtelline Pass Europe In order to make communication between Spain and Austria difficult, he secured the occupation by a hostile power of the Valtelline Pass, which led through the Alps from Milan into Austrian territory, and which was constantly used for the passage of the Spanish troops He watched the struggle in Germany with the most anxious care, and on several occasions influenced it in moments of crisis Gustavus Adolphus, as we have seen, relied largely upon French support, when he invaded Germany for the defence of the Protestant cause, and Richelieu made with him in 1630, a treaty by which the Swiss army was practically taken into French pay He called the Swedish power "a poison useful as an antidote, but fatal if taken in excess," and the death of Gustavus at the Battle of Lutzen was not altogether unwelcome to him When the Protestants had suffered the disaster of Nordlingen, it was to Catholic France alone that they could look for effective support, and from this time onward the hand of France—which was the hand of Richelieu—was ever more clearly discernible in the closing scenes of the contest Bernard of Weimar and his army were throughout in French pay, and upon Bernard's death his army was taken directly into the service of France The closing scenes of the war were mainly occupied in a struggle between France and Spain upon the northern and eastern frontiers of France, while her Swedish allies pressed the Austrians in the east The armies of France were not at first successful, but the diplomacy of Richelieu raised up enemies to Spain in her own peninsula Portugal, which had been united with Spain, by the armies of Philip II revolted in 1640, and the province of Catalonia broke into an insurrection which lasted for many years The contest was not decided, but the balance was turning clearly to the side of France when Richelieu died in December of 1642 Louis XIII, the master whom he had

served so faithfully, died in the following May, and a new era seemed to open for France and for Europe

Yet the change at first was not so great as had been anticipated. Richelieu had been assisted during the latter part of his life by Mazarin, and it was Mazarin whom Mazarin he recommended as his successor. The new minister was of Italian origin, who never spoke perfectly the French language or understood the French character. He had none of Richelieu's decisive vigour in dealing with domestic affairs, but in foreign policy he proved himself a worthy successor of Richelieu, whose ideas he carried on in the same spirit to a complete success. Louis XIV. was a child less than five years old, and a long regency was clearly in prospect. The Queen Mother, Anne of Austria, held the position of regent without question, and she supported Mazarin continuously and unhesitatingly. It is believed by many that Mazarin, who, though a Cardinal, had not taken full orders, was actually though secretly married to her. His attention was at first occupied by the foreign war. Here the armies of France, after some early checks, were now winning great glory. Two great soldiers had appeared upon the French side: the Duke of Condé, Turenne, a prince of the blood royal, and the Marquis of Turenne. Condé was the more daring and adventurous of the two, and attracted at first the greater attention in France. But Turenne was one of the ablest strategists and one of the most humane soldiers that Europe has known, and he unquestionably achieved greater triumphs, and certainly served France more faithfully than his brilliant colleague and rival. In 1643 Condé won the battle of Rocroi upon the Battle of Belgian frontier, a battle famous as being the first Rocroi occasion since the days of Charles V., on which the genuine infantry of Spain had received a decisive defeat. Shortly after this, negotiations for peace were begun, but they were conducted slowly and indecisively, for Austria was unwilling to make the necessary concessions. But in 1648 another victory won by Condé in the same region, Lens at Lens, brought the necessary pressure to bear, and the peace of Westphalia was concluded in the next year. We have seen its terms in the preceding chapter, and we have

noted how it brought to France great increase of prestige, great gains in territory, and the promise of more

The Peace of Westphalia was Mazarin's greatest triumph, but it did not succeed in winning to his side the support of French opinion. Rather, as soon as the greater part of the burden of the war had passed away (though it must be noted that the war with Spain still continued, and was not brought to an end for another eleven years), the various elements of discontent in France raised their heads in a last effort to resist the royal authority. The financial burdens that the war had entailed were very great—though France had suffered nothing approaching to the miseries of Germany—and there was a demand for the abolition of the heavy burden of taxation. The nobles, too, hoped that, though they had failed in their efforts against Richelieu, they might succeed against his weaker successor in winning for themselves a freer and more influential position in the State.

Rise
of opposi-
tion to
Mazarin

We come, then, to one of the most puzzling episodes in French history, which is generally called the "Fronde." The word was a mere party nickname, and the movement was a general uprising against royal authority in France, springing from diverse and even opposite causes, and failing because of that diversity. It had two chief roots. It began with the action of the Parlement of Paris, which protested against taxes and demanded reform, and it led up to a general movement of aristocratic resistance, the chief part in which was played by the impetuous Prince of Condé.

The wars
of the
Fronde

The Parlement of Paris was not well suited to play the part of constitutional reformer. It was a body whose chief—and usually whose only—function was to act as a Court of Justice. Its members held their positions by virtue of purchase and heredity, and were subject neither to popular election nor to royal appointment. It touched legislation and government on one point only: it had the right of registering the edicts of the king, which had not the force of laws until they were found upon the register of Parlement. It was never decided whether it could refuse registration,

though it was admitted that it could make a representation to the government if it wished to take objection to any points

Refusal to register the king's edicts in the proposed laws It used now this doubtful power and refused to register the edicts of finance which were sent down to it in 1648 Then, availing itself of the discontent which was felt with the

financial administration both in Paris and in the country at large, it determined upon a bolder step It drew near to other courts, which, like itself, had emanated from the royal council such as the Chamber of Accounts, the Chamber of Customs and the Grand Council, and in common session with them it

Demands of Parlement demanded, in a spirit not wholly unlike that of the contemporary English Parliament, the reduction of taxes, the abolition of imprisonment by

royal warrant without trial, and the removal of the Intendants who, as we have seen, had superseded royal authority in the provinces The government hesitated at first, but was encouraged by the news of the battle of Lens to strike at its parliamentary opponents The leaders of Parlement were seized, and a bitter contest seemed in store But then for a moment the Crown gave way The example of England had been a potent influence throughout, and the news of the execution of King Charles I alarmed the court as to the consequences of resistance But though Mazarin yielded for a moment, it was only to strike harder afterwards The royal

End of the first Fronde forces were gathered and entrusted to the command of Condé Paris was loosely blockaded It was already seen that there could be no real co-operation between the lawyers of the Parlement and the nobles who had been gratified by the attack on Intendants, and in 1649 peace was made The government promised concessions in matters of finance, and the Parlement dropped the rôle of popular champion which it had for a moment held

So ended what is known as the first Fronde, but it was soon followed by the second, a movement in which, indeed,

The second Fronde there is very little in common with the first The second had no constitutional aims, and was in no sense the champion of popular rights It was a last rally of discontented aristocrats, and all turned upon the

action and ambition of the Prince of Condé In January, 1650, Mazarin, who saw in him a dangerous spirit and a rival to the authority of the Crown, arrested him and certain other nobles There was loud indignation, and Condé even Turenne, usually so loyal a nature, was drawn over to the side of the nobles by the influence of Condé's sister Paris joined with the rebels, and demanded the liberation of the prince and the banishment of Mazarin The astute minister bowed for a moment to the storm, liberated Condé, and retired beyond the frontier But his defeat was only apparent, and from his retirement he directed the action of the Queen Mother and of the government, as much as when he was in Paris

A struggle of indescribable confusion followed It has been recounted for us in many memoirs, such as those of Cardinal de Retz and Madame de Longueville, who have painted for us, with great brilliancy, the details of the duels and the battles and the intrigues of the time But the struggle was in truth a somewhat sordid one, and personal ambition was at the root of it all Turenne was won back to the royal side, and he soon gave to the royal troops ascendancy over their opponents Condé was defeated in 1652, outside the gates of Paris, and narrowly escaped capture He soon afterwards withdrew from France, and joined the Spaniards, against whom he had in the past fought so brilliantly Paris soon made her peace with the Crown, Mazarin returned, the Parlement was forbidden to interfere in public affairs, the Intendants were restored, and the system of Richelieu returned in its entirety. What remained was the war with Spain, and on War with both sides there was great financial exhaustion, Spain great eagerness for peace, but unwillingness to make the sacrifices that would be necessary for peace The war has been described as a race between tired horses, and though the French gained the advantage in most encounters, it seemed impossible to give to Spain the decisive blow In 1657 a strange diplomatic step brought triumph at last to France The career of Oliver Cromwell had attracted the attention of all Europe, and it was seen that England possessed in him and

his Ironsides a military force of the most efficient kind. The monarchs of both Spain and France regarded him with intense dislike as a republican and a regicide, and the Crown of France was closely united with the royal house of England, for the

Alliance of France with Cromwell widowed queen of Charles I was the sister of Louis XIII. But the military necessities of both countries were so great that they sued for the alliance of the detested English Protector. He hesitated long as

to the course which he should pursue, but he had already cast his eyes upon the colonies of Spain, and he made at last an alliance with Cardinal Mazarin. A body of troops came over under the command of Lockhart, and in June,

Battle of the Dunes 1658, there was fought, not far from Dunkirk, the battle of the Dunes. Condé commanded the Spanish forces, and Turenne and Lockhart fought

side by side against them. The result was an overwhelming victory for Mazarin and his ally. The English received Dunkirk as part of the payment for their help, and serious negotiations were at once begun. They resulted in November, 1659, in the important Peace of the Pyrenees, which is a complement to the Peace of Westphalia, and which may be taken

Peace of the Pyrenees as bringing to the very end the struggle of the Thirty Years' War. France gained territory in the north and in the south. Artois in the north,

and Roussillon on the Pyrenean frontier. More important than these rather insignificant territorial gains was the vast prestige which France enjoyed as the power which had at first forced Germany to peace, and now dictated her will to Spain. Condé was pardoned, and allowed to return to France, which he henceforth loyally served. It was hoped also that the treaty

might inaugurate a period of friendship and alliance between the two bitter and age-long rivals. A marriage was negotiated

between Louis XIV and the Spanish princess, Maria Teresa.

In the marriage contract Louis XIV definitely renounced all claims which might come to him through his wife to Spanish territory or to the Spanish Crown. But this renunciation was made conditional upon the payment of a large sum as dowry, and Spain never found herself in a position to pay. Louis XIV, therefore, regarded himself as free, and the Spanish claims,

which he made in his wife's name, cover a large portion of his reign

The treaty was a great triumph for Mazarin, but he lived only a short time longer. He had amassed enormous wealth, which he had used for the accumulation of an immense library and for the encouragement of the fine arts. Before his death it was already plain that the young king was beginning to desire a more influential part in the direction of the policy of France than his great minister had hitherto allowed him. The passing away of Mazarin opened, as we shall see, a well-marked epoch for France and for Europe. ✓

In addition to the ordinary histories of France Hassall's *Louis XIV and Mazarin*, and Lodge's *Richelieu France under Richelieu and Colbert*, by J H Bridges. Hanotaux's *Richelieu* is a fragment, but the first volume is an excellent sketch of the condition of France in the first half of the seventeenth century

CHAPTER IX

The Age of Louis XIV

FOR some time past France had been ruled nominally by the kings, but really through the agency of first ministers, and upon the death of Mazarin it was assumed that he would have a successor. But the young king, Louis XIV, was determined to take the government into his own hands, and to the surprise of his court announced that he would be his own first minister. He persisted in this resolution, and through the whole of his reign—the longest in the annals of Europe—he was himself the chief guiding force in the policy of France, both domestic and foreign.

Louis XIV, who was only five years old when he ascended the throne, had hitherto had no chance to show his talents. His character and abilities have been variously judged, but he showed, during the long period during which he directed the destinies of France, while France was the most powerful state in Europe,

great knowledge of the European situation and great diplomatic skill. He was not a great soldier, and took no prominent part in any campaign, but he was specially interested in the art of sieges, and was himself present on more than one occasion when great fortresses surrendered to the arms of France. But it is not as soldier, nor exactly as statesman, that he occupies his great place in the history of Europe. He is the great example of modern monarchy in its highest and most splendid form. He had great grace and dignity of bearing, and a handsome face and figure, and he was in every way, so far as manneers were concerned, a worthy representative of the most splendid, if not of the most powerful, monarchy that Europe has ever known. He gathered round him a magnificent and an expensive court, his reign was made illustrious by architecture, painting, and the great development of literature, and nearly all European monarchs looked to him as the model of what a king should be, and regarded France as the best example of how a country should be governed.

Apparent decline of free institutions in Europe Parliamentary and representative institutions seemed on the decline nearly everywhere. They were strongest in England, but when Charles II. was restored to his throne in 1660 they were subjected to a severe and insidious attack even there. No one at that time could have prophesied that some form of representative institutions would triumph in every country of the civilized world. The future seemed to be with unlimited monarchy.

The king himself, as we have said, was the centre of government. The Parlements were coerced, the States-General were not called into being, provincial and municipal institutions were everywhere brought under the control of the king's government. The real machinery of government was to be found in the king's council, and in the smaller councils which emanated from it, dealing with the various departments of the state. These councils were composed for the most part, not of the high aristocracy, but of men of the middle class. This was a definite part of the king's policy. "I wanted, before all things, to let the public know," he wrote, "by the rank from

which I chose my ministers that I had no intention of sharing power with them " It was in the king's council that all the great decisions of the reign were taken The carrying out of those decisions was entrusted to the various agents of the Crown, and especially to the Intendants, of whom we spoke in the last chapter

It was an era of great brilliance for France which produced men of the highest eminence in almost every department of life A great part of the splendour of the reign is reflected from the great men of letters, who were many of them admitted to the society of the king himself The three greatest names in the history of the French drama—Corneille, Racine, and Molière—all belong to this reign, though the first had done his most important work before Louis XIV actually began to reign The king was on terms of personal friendship with Molière, the great comedian, and supported him against the attacks of courtiers and of priests The drama of the time, and especially the comedies of Molière, give us an attractive idea of the tone and intelligence of the court, which could enjoy plays of such high excellence But every department of literature was represented by great names, philosophy by Descartes and Pascal, theology by Bossuet and Fenelon A special feature of the reign is the number of memoirs that were produced during the course of it The greatest of these is a book which was written, but not given to the world at the time, the *Memoirs of Saint Simon* Its author was a man bitterly opposed to the royal absolutism, and a strong partisan of the pretensions and privileges of the aristocracy He committed to his pages all the stories and the scandal of the time, especially those which reflected discredit upon the king and his court They have to be received in many instances with great suspicion, but enough remains to show that the court of Louis XIV had a side that was neither honest, moral, nor distinguished by good taste

In the sphere of active life the king was admirably served He inherited great generals from the era that was just passed Condé and Turenne were at the very height of their powers,

and Western Europe had no generals whose skill could be put in comparison with theirs. Along with them must be mentioned Vauban, the famous engineer, whose military services were as great as those of the two men already mentioned, and who also showed himself, before the end of the reign, an ardent and courageous patriot by resisting the fatal policy of the king himself. As valuable to the king as these men who commanded armies and conducted the operations of war, was his war minister, Louvois. Louvois, a man of fierce and overbearing temper, whose influence on the reign was in many respects for evil but who had no equal in Europe for equipping troops and doing all that falls to the duty of a minister of war.

When Louis XIV came to the throne France was almost at the height of her prestige. There was no country in Europe which alone could vie with her, and she was able to resist with success even large alliances, but her finances were in a confused and lamentable condition. The finance minister, Fouquet, had been skillful in finding means during the late war, but he was believed to have made his enormous fortune by dishonest means. His position was so strong, and his supporters so many, that it was difficult to overthrow him. The king had to intrigue against his own minister. Yet in the end Fouquet was overthrown and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the management of the finances was entrusted to Colbert. His is one of the very greatest names of the reign, and France never had a more capable or a more devoted minister. He had been the subordinate of Mazarin, who had recommended him as his successor. He was of middle-class origin, and without striking presence or social ambitions. He flung himself into the task of setting in order the finances of France with an energy which nothing could subdue. It was said of him that the only rest that he ever took was change of work, and before his day was over he had placed the finances of France on a far more favourable footing. His work was so important that it must be briefly summarized. He turned, in the first place, to the collection and management of the taxes. Here he introduced no radical

reforms in principle. He was content with the same taxes, or nearly so, and he collected them much in the same way as formerly, but by rigid supervision, and by relentless punishment of those servants of the State who made dishonest gains, he reduced very greatly the burden which pressed upon the country, while at the same time the income from the taxation was much greater than it had been in previous years. But he was not content merely with a more rigid supervision of the machinery of taxation, he desired also to find for France new sources of wealth. France, up to the present time, was not an industrial State, and she imported manufactured articles from all the neighbouring countries. Colbert was determined to alter all this. He induced workmen to come from England, from Holland, and from Italy to teach the methods of stocking-making, weaving, lace-making, and glass-making, and then when these industries had thus been founded in France, he excluded the competition of foreign-made articles by a high protective tariff, and at the same time supervised the methods of production by his agents. It is this part of his work which is best known, and which has made the word "Colbertism," in some countries a synonym for "protection." Some of the industries thus established languished before long, but some also became a permanent source of wealth for France. He stimulated at the same time trade and commerce. The overseas trade of Europe was at this time chiefly in the hands of England and of Holland, and by them was carried on through the agency of chartered companies. Colbert was determined to see whether the same methods might not produce the same results for France. Companies were founded to trade in the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Indian Seas, and with America, and here, too, though few of these companies were destined to a long life, it is unquestionable that the volume of the commerce of France immensely increased during his administration. This was not all. Better roads were made, canals were built, the building of ships was pushed on at a great pace, and it seemed as though France were about to enter on a career in which, like England, she would

Super-
vision of
taxation

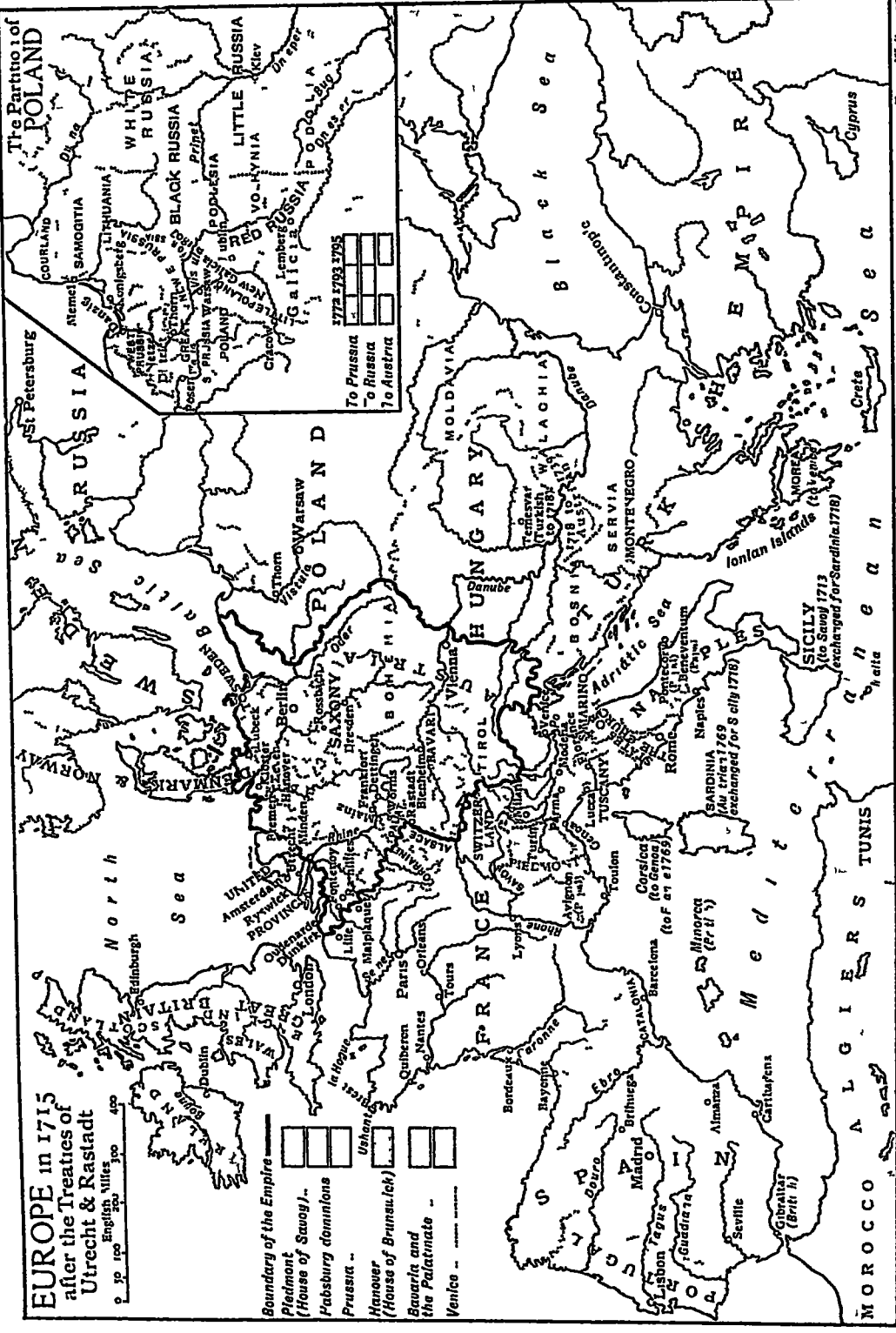
Industry
encouraged
and pro-
tected

Navy

pursue industrial and commercial objects as her main aim Colbert also eagerly urged the building of a navy which might hold its own with that of England or of Holland

There was much in Louis XIV's early reign which was calculated to win popularity. He administered justice with an even hand, and showed that no nobleman was exempt from the punishments which the law prescribed, and there was no question that by the majority of the people of France his rule was regarded with genuine approval and enthusiasm. But the pacific period of his reign lasted only a short time, and soon he plunged into that series of wars which, though they were at first successful, provoked against him a constantly increasing body of European allies, until at last, under the strain of the resistance of Europe, the resources of France were exhausted, and the glories of the age of Louis XIV ended in unpopularity and disaster.

The first of these wars is the so-called War of Devolution, or the War of the Queen. We have seen how, when Louis XIV married the Spanish princess, Maria Theresa, he had promised that he would not claim either the crown of Spain or any portion of Spanish territory as belonging to his wife. But when, in 1665, the Spanish King, Philip IV, died, Louis XIV at once claimed for his wife a portion of the Spanish Netherlands. He maintained that as the dowry which was stipulated for in the Peace of the Pyrenees had never been paid him, his promise was void. He declared, too, that the law of inheritance in the Netherlands was a peculiar one, and that the lands descended to a daughter by a first marriage rather than to a son by a second one, and that his wife took precedence, therefore, for those lands, over her half-brother, Charles II, King of Spain. These claims were, of course, refused, and war came at once. The Spaniards were utterly incapable of resisting the army of France, splendidly equipped and led, and it seemed that very shortly the whole of the Spanish Netherlands would be overrun and, perhaps, annexed to the French crown. Then there came a sudden change. The aggressions of France had aroused, as they always aroused, the fear and jealousy of Europe, and England,





Holland, and Sweden joined together to resist Louis XIV's further advance. A war of wider scope seemed inevitable, but to the surprise of all men, Louis XIV yielded. A certain advance of the northern frontier of France was gained, but most of her conquests were handed back to Spain (1668).

After this France had peace for some years. Then in 1672 there came a much more serious war with Holland. The causes are easily found. The Dutch were the great War commercial rivals of the French, and Colbert, who with the was usually pacific in his policy, welcomed a war Dutch which might sweep away a rival and an obstacle to the development of French trade. Moreover, Holland offered an example of a republic, which was distasteful to the absolutism of the French king. It was the asylum too, of exiles from France for religious or political reasons, and books attacking the character and policy of the French king had recently been published there. Nor could Louis XIV overlook the part which had been played by Holland in the formation of the Triple Alliance of 1667. For many reasons, then, the small but prosperous and progressive State of Holland seemed a barrier in the path of the great monarch. The war was prepared for by Louis XIV's usual skilful diplomacy. By the secret treaty of Dover the English king had promised Secret to take, when called upon, the side of Louis XIV. Treaty of Sweden was also bought over, and thus, when war Dover was declared in 1672, the Dutch found themselves without allies, and utterly unable to resist the attack of France. The French army passed the Rhine, captured towns and fortresses, and drew near to Amsterdam. In vain the Dutch humiliated themselves before the French, Louis would accept Ruin no terms short of a complete surrender, and it and re- seemed that that surrender could not be far covery of off. But then there came a great change. A Holland revolution in Holland brought into power William of Orange, the great-grandson of that William the Silent, who, just a century before, had rendered such wonderful services to the Protestant Dutch. Military and diplomatic authority of an almost absolute kind was thrust into his hands, and he was called upon to save the State as his great-grandfather

had saved it under even harder conditions William of Orange, later to be known as William III, King of England, was equal to the task. He was no great soldier, but he was one of the most skilful diplomatists that Europe has ever known. First the dykes were cut and the waters of the sea were let in upon the fertile plains of Holland, and then by skilful negotiations he called into existence an alliance against France. Spain joined hands with the Dutch, her old enemies, Brandenburg, though usually friendly to France, joined the alliance. The empire declared itself ready to resist the aggressions of France, and at last the English people forced upon their king a

Great
Alliance
against
France

policy the exact opposite of what he had promised to Louis XIV. England withdrew from the attack upon Holland, and was soon found co-operating with her against the French. In the war which followed—no details of which can here be given—the French armies fully maintained their superiority over all others in Europe. And when, in 1678, the Peace of Nimeguen was made, France claimed considerable advantages. Certain further concessions of territory were made upon her northern frontier, but most important of all, the district of Franche-Comté, upon her eastern frontier, was ceded to her by Spain. She had not won all that she had desired, but her conquests were considerable and her prestige unabated.

The gains which she had made in the war, however, were soon eclipsed by further territorial gains made in time of The peace. These are the famous "Reunions," and to Reunions understand them we must go back to the Peace of Westphalia. By that peace, certain districts in Alsace and Lorraine had been ceded to France "with the rights and territories belonging to them." There was some obscurity as to what these "rights" were, and now, in a moment of profound peace, when Europe was exhausted, weary of war, and anxious for repose, Louis determined to institute a one-sided inquiry into the meaning of these phrases. He established a court before which he brought his own claims, and he was thus himself both judge and plaintiff. By a procedure which only had the thinnest appearance of legality, great districts in Alsace were adjudged to him, including the thoroughly

German city of Strassburg By a procedure equally unjust he gained also Luxemburg upon the north, and beyond the Alps Casale in Italy These were places important in themselves, doubly important as opening the possibility of further invasion Germany was indignant alike with the acquisitions and the procedure, and a German Diet was called at Ratisbon in 1684 to consider them But the diet only brought into higher relief the pre-eminence which France had acquired in Europe Louis despatched to the assembly an ultimatum demanding the cession of all that he had won for a term of twenty years on pain of the instant declaration of war The assembly hesitated, feeling its honour compromised, but in the end it obeyed This year, 1684, and the triumph thus insolently won at the Diet of Ratisbon, may be taken as marking the very zenith of the power of Louis XIV

From this time forward, however, the power of France changed only to diminish, and soon after Louis entered upon another series of wars in which at first victory only came after a desperate struggle, and by and by came not at all, but was replaced by defeat The latter half of the great monarch's reign bears thus a very different character from its triumphant opening and we must try to understand the causes of this change It will be well, in the first place, to glance at the religious history of the reign The king's early life was full of licence, and his religion exercised little influence upon his conduct He was determined to be master in France not only in matters political, but in matters religious as well, and he asserted with success the power of the Crown against all religious authorities Thus, in 1682, as a result of a quarrel with the Pope, he issued a declaration of what are known as Gallican Liberties, that is to say, the special rights of that part of the Roman Catholic Church that was to be found in France In this famous declaration it was laid down that the authority of the Pope was limited to spiritual matters, that the royal authority was in no way dependent upon the papacy, and that the Popes had no right to depose kings or to turn subjects from their duty of obedience

In another part of the declaration, the Pope's authority over the Church was declared to be only final when ratified by a Council. The Pope protested, but in vain, and Louis XIV carried the matter through with a high hand.

But if in this matter he seemed to be acting in opposition to the Pope, in the remainder of his religious policy, he upheld the rule of religious orthodoxy against all who opposed it in France. A religious movement had arisen within the limits of the Catholic Church which is known as Jansenism, from Jansen the Bishop of Ypres, from whose writings its chief representatives drew their ideas. Those who took part in it declared themselves loyal and devoted adherents to the Catholic Church, and protested that neither in doctrine nor in ceremony were they willing to depart from Catholicism. But they aimed at establishing a more rigid and puritanic method of life than that which was practised by most French Catholics, and they preferred the example of the early centuries of Catholicism and the authority of the Bible to that of later traditions or developments. The movement was rendered illustrious by several great names. Racine joined it, and under its influence wrote some of his most beautiful work. Pascal, great as a man of science, and great as a philosopher, was its chief intellectual exponent. The king came to regard it as an assault, not only upon the authority of the Pope, but upon his own. More than one papal bull was issued against the new movement, and the king used his power to stamp out a religious body which, if differently handled, might have added to the life and strength of France, without in any way threatening the authority of the Roman Catholic Church.

But it is more important to follow the dealings of the king with the Protestants, and here, too, we see absolutism destroying liberty, and in so doing undermining the Huguenots' foundations and ruining the vigour of its own power. The Protestants of France were no longer the great force that they had been in the days of Henry IV and Richelieu. Their numbers had sunk, their social prestige had vanished, their connection with the aristocracy had almost entirely disappeared. They showed no signs of disloyalty, and they had not stirred a foot during all the struggles

of the Fronde They were for the most part an energetic body of men engaged in commerce and kindred pursuits, and no section of Frenchmen had rendered to Colbert such valuable assistance as they had done During the early years of Louis XIV they had not been seriously interfered with, though there was always a tendency to curb and limit their privileges But later on in his reign, the thoughts of the king turned more seriously to religion He was ^{Madame} influenced in this matter very much by Madame de Maintenon de Maintenon, who was at first the governess of his illegitimate children, and upon the death of Maria Theresa, became his wife His devotion to religion was now sincere and engrossing, and he came to regard Protestantism, not only as an insult to royal authority, but also as a heresy which must be annihilated He was encouraged in his designs by the leaders of the French Church, and Bossuet spoke of his atrocious deed as his chief title to fame First, all the privileges of the Protestants were scrutinized and diminished They were subjected to rigorous supervision, upon slight pretexts their temples were destroyed, their property and even their children were taken from them They came to be like hunted beasts, round whom their pursuers drew an ever-narrowing circle Bribes and cruel compulsion were used to drive them over to the side of Catholicism, and many certainly yielded to one or other form of pressure

Then at last, in 1685, it was declared that the greater body of the Protestants had come over to the Catholic Church, and that the Edict of Nantes, which had always been spoken of as a perpetual edict, was no longer ^{The Edict} binding upon the king It was therefore with- ^{of Nantes} drawn Freedom of worship was entirely taken ^{with-} away, though the mockery of freedom of conscience was still maintained No one was allowed to leave France But this prohibition could not be enforced, and many thousands of Protestants found a refuge beyond the frontiers in Switzerland, in Prussia, in Holland, and in England The consequences of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes have, perhaps, sometimes been exaggerated by Protestant his- ^{Its effects} torians, but that they were great and evil, admits of no doubt

France lost many thousands of her citizens, and some of the most capable, peaceful, and industrious, and these citizens carried over to foreign countries the arts and trades which they had exercised, and they carried, too, an abiding hatred of the government which had driven them out. Holland and England both profited by their arrival, but the case of Prussia is still more significant. Frederick William, the great Elector, gave them land and houses in and around Berlin, and that city owed the beginning of its greatness, which was ultimately to be so disastrous to France, to these emigrants who were driven out by the blind tyranny and religious fanaticism of a king in many respects really great.

The religious policy of the king, and the consequent weakening and deadening of the intellectual and commercial life of France must be rated among the causes of the decline of the country's powers, but there were other causes not so much within his own control. Between France and Turkey, there had

The defeat of the Turks
been for a long time an informal but important alliance, and often the assaults or the threats of the Turks against Vienna had served to prevent the co-operation of the emperor in military operations against France. Now, in 1683, the Turks received one of the most decisive defeats of their history. They had pressed on to the siege of Vienna, and the city seemed certain to fall, but then it was relieved by the arrival of John Sobieski, King of Poland. The Turks withdrew in disorder, and suffered immense loss. The decline of the Turkish arms on land dates from this time. Most of Hungary was soon lost to them, and France henceforth looked in vain to the Sultan for effective help. In England, too, things were taking a turn

Louis XIV and England
which was ultimately almost fatal to France. The relations of the king with Charles II had not been easy, but by various means he had usually managed to prevent the English government from interfering actively against him. When James II came to the throne Louis XIV hoped to establish better relations with him, for both kings were Catholics, and seemed bound to be drawn together by their common religious interests. But James II was a stubborn and unwise ruler, and he had a national pride which made him

dislike to be helped by the French king and so he blundered on into collision with the national and religious prejudices of his people, which in three years was to lead to the English Revolution of 1688, whereby not only Protestantism and representative government were saved for England, but also an enemy was raised up for France, the most tenacious and the most dangerous that Louis XIV was ever destined to know

The year 1688 brought a very acute crisis in the fortunes of Louis XIV. On the one side James II was drifting rapidly towards revolution, and Louis XIV was aware how much that revolution might imply for the fortunes of France. His offers of assistance, however, were repelled by the patriotism or the vanity of James II, and he gave in consequence his chief attention to his eastern frontier. There the electoral Archbishopric of Cologne was in the throes of an election, and the city was so important because of its command of a bridge over the Rhine and a road into the Netherlands, that the King of France was anxious, if possible, to secure, as archbishop and elector, some one friendly to France. It seemed at first as if he would be able to procure this without difficulty, but in the end it became clear that if Cologne was to be brought within the sphere of French influence, a French army would have to be used. His troops were accordingly mobilized and made ready to march upon Cologne.

These events had a very close connection with the English Revolution. The heads of the discontent in England had already sent over their famous appeal to William the Statthalter of Holland to whom, as the nearest male relative of James II, who was not a Catholic, they naturally appealed. William was ready for the adventure, but the representative assembly of the United Provinces was unwilling to let him sail while the action of France was uncertain for if the French army invaded Holland, all the resources of Holland, and all the energy of William would be required to repel it. The French attack upon Cologne relieved the Dutch of this pressing fear,

and William was allowed to sail for England, where he soon, by great skill and by a large measure of good fortune, made himself the king of Protestant and parliamentary England without fighting a single battle. He valued the position he had won chiefly because France was thus deprived of an important ally, and England became at once a leading member of the coalition against Louis XIV.

The attack on Cologne and the English Revolution quickly produced a great European war. So great was the fear and jealousy felt for France that William III succeeded in grouping together nearly all the powers of Europe in a grand alliance against the French king. First England joined with Holland and the emperor then these were speedily reinforced by Spain and

Brandenburg and in the end even Denmark and Sweden gave assistance to the great coalition. The war was a long and a severe one, yet on the continent of Europe it was singularly devoid of incidents which strike the imagination. It was there chiefly a war of sieges, and, indeed, the frontier

of France had been so splendidly fortified by Vauban, that the whole campaign was like a great siege. The details of the campaigns may, therefore, be omitted, but a study of them reveals most clearly the immense military strength which France possessed, and the superiority of her generals and their tactics over all those against whom they were opposed. At the beginning of the war it had seemed as though France could claim supremacy not only by land but by sea as well. In the battle of Beachy Head (1690) the French navy gained a complete victory over the combined English and Dutch fleets, and it is strange that Louis XIV did not make more use of this undoubted triumph. But in 1692 fortune deserted him upon the seas, and in the battle of La Hogue, the English navy reasserted once more its superiority, and removed for a long time all danger of a French invasion of the English coasts. The war was fought out not only in the Netherlands and upon the high seas, but also in Ireland, whither James II had gone after his flight from England, and where he hoped to build up a power, by means of which he might ultimately reconquer England. A common

religion and hatred of England made the great bulk of the Irish friendly to him, and his troops at first gained successes which seemed likely to bring the whole island within his power. Then, however, the instability of his position there became manifest. William III came over with a motley army drawn from half a dozen different nationalities, and in the battle of the Boyne riveted again the English dominion upon the Irish people (1690). The war on the Continent was on a large scale, and demanded a huge expenditure of money, and although France, almost without exception, won the battles that she fought, and rarely undertook any siege without capturing the desired town, her financial condition grew so alarming that it was necessary for her to accept proposals of peace. After nine years of warfare the struggle came to an end at the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. By this peace France was compelled to cede something of the gains that she had made in former wars, and some of the places that she had won by the courts of Reunion. But Strassburg and Alsace still remained in her hands, and if she had lost a little territory in the war, her military prestige was hardly diminished, nor could any dispute her claim to be the first military power of Europe. For William III it was a great thing that he had maintained himself on the throne of England, and that, by the terms of the peace, Louis XIV was forced to promise never again to support the Stuart dynasty in any attempts that they might make upon the throne of England.

One reason why Louis XIV was willing to accept the Peace of Ryswick was that another and an even more serious question than that involved in the war with William, was likely to come at once before the statesmen of Europe. The health of Charles II, King of Spain, had been precarious for a number of years, but now reports from Madrid showed that he was really sinking, and with his death there would be brought before European statesmen one of the greatest prizes that diplomacy ever gambled for.

In the former chapter we have protested against the view which regards Spain at the end of the sixteenth century, or the

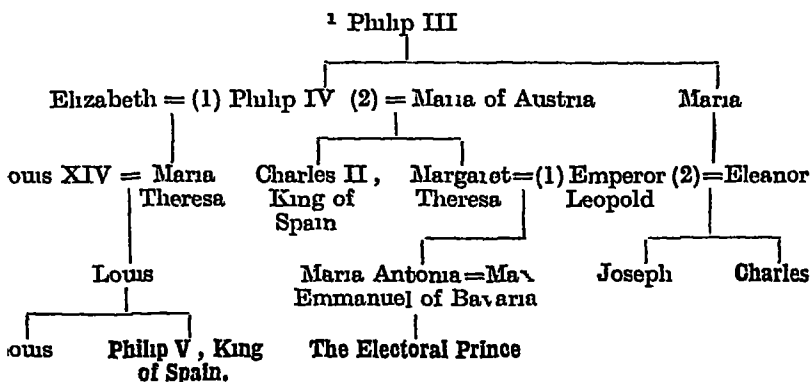
beginning of the seventeenth, as a hopelessly decadent power. She had shown down to the middle of the seventeenth century great tenacity and splendid military gifts, while her artists and her writers still made her one of the most distinguished of European states. But at the end of the seventeenth century there could be no doubt of her weakness, and no doubt that it was caused by some permanent features in her constitution and social system. There will always be differences of opinion as to the importance which is to be attached to one or other of these, but none can fail to see several causes which were undermining the vitality of Spain. To begin with, her financial system was one of the worst in Europe. She suffered from all the abuses of the financial privileges of the Church and nobles from which France suffered down to the eve of the Revolution, and she had other peculiar abuses of her own. Her system of taxation was such that it ruined the industries of the country without bringing any large gain to the national exchequer. Then, too, the intellectual condition of Spain had some very serious features. In espousing the cause of the Catholic reaction in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, Spain was taking a line in agreement with the character of the people. But by the complete victory which Catholicism had won within her borders, and by the oppression which the Catholic Church exercised by means of the Inquisition and in other ways, an intellectual tyranny was established of the most ruinous kind, and none the less ruinous because Spain was hardly conscious of it. When in Europe generally the scientific movement had fully begun, and was moving forward to victories which gave strength and wealth to the countries which accepted it, there was no possibility of such a movement in Spain, where no free thought was allowed on matters political, scientific, or religious. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the country had a magnificent outburst of literature and of art, which is hardly surpassed by any similar movement in any other European state, but by the middle of the seventeenth century that was all over, and Spain sank back into lethargy both political and intellectual. Further, it must be noted

that Spain had for two hundred years past been concerned with vast enterprises in almost every part of the world. She had undertaken to conquer and to occupy the two American continents. She aspired to, and had almost gained the rule of Italy, she was as much concerned as by Imperial Austria in the Thirty Years' War. How she had schemes struggled for years to win back the Netherlands, and to conquer England, has been narrated in a previous chapter. These struggles had brought to her armies and to her diplomats some great triumphs, but they had implied a terrible burden upon the finances and upon the energies of Spain. While her kings pursued these distant and fantastic imperial projects, the well-being of the Spaniards themselves was neglected, and the foundations, upon which the whole imperial fabric must rest, grew weak and rotten. Spain is one of the most striking examples of a country ruined by its own imperial schemes.

Over this people, in many ways so great, Charles II now ruled. In him the mental malady, which had so often threatened or attacked his ancestors, appeared in a King severe form. He had never really been capable of ruling, or of understanding any of the problems which the ruler of Spain would have to solve, and at the end of his reign he had fallen into something very near complete idiocy. The chief influences upon him were those of his wife and of his confessor, and he made no attempt to perform his duties as king. He had no child, and for thirty years past Europe had been concerned with the question of what would happen to Spain when Charles II died. It was by no means a simple question as a matter of right, and even if as a matter of right it had been simple, the jealousies of the European States would probably not have accepted a solution which did not satisfy their ambitions. Briefly, there were three possible claimants. Louis XIV had married the daughter of King Philip IV of Spain, and by right of his wife he could claim the whole of the inheritance for his son. The emperor, Leopold I, was the son of Maria, sister of Philip IV, and he claimed the Spanish inheritance through his mother. The claim of Louis XIV was the stronger.

of the two, but he had renounced it in the Treaty of the Pyrenees, though as we have seen he regarded this renunciation as not binding. A third claim was put forward by the Electoral House of Bavaria. Max Emmanuel had married the niece of Charles II, the grand-daughter of Philip IV.¹ A renunciation also barred this claim, but the House of Bavaria had protested against it on various grounds. How was the matter to be settled? There was no court in Europe before which its rival claims could be brought, nor would the claimants have been willing to accept the decision of any court. William III of England took a lively interest in the question, which might result in a vast addition to the power of his great enemy Louis XIV, but the English people were in no mood to support him in a fresh war, and he had recourse, therefore, to diplomatic methods.

The Partition Treaties He opened negotiations with Louis XIV, and drew up two treaties of partition. Neither the Spanish king nor the Spanish people were consulted in any way. It was arranged by the first treaty that, while the bulk of the Spanish inheritance should go to the Prince of Bavaria, whose accession to the Spanish throne would not upset in any way the balance of European power, both Austria and France were to take for themselves some outlying portions of the vast Spanish possessions. It is possible that this arrangement might have been carried through, for the Spanish king had made his will in favour of the Bavarian Prince, but the Prince died suddenly, and the whole work had to be gone over again. A new partition



treaty was drawn up the bulk of the inheritance this time was to go to the Austrian Prince Charles second son of the emperor but France was to receive as her part of the booty the Spanish possessions in Italy

While these negotiations were in process with William III the French ambassador in Madrid had been labouring to influence the king and court in favour of France. The It seemed for a time that his efforts were fruitless, will of but when Charles II died it was found that he Charles II had made his will in favour of Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV to whom he had left his whole dominions, in the hope that the power of France might be strong enough to keep them undivided

Would Louis XIV still go on with the Partition Treaty he had signed or would he accept the will, news of which was at once brought to Versailles? The offer made by the will was a much more splendid one than the Louis XIV gains implied in the Partition Treaty. Moreover, accepts the Spanish Austria had denounced the Partition Treaty and inheritance its stipulations could only be enforced by war. It seemed best for the French king to fight since fight he must, for the larger prize. He recognized his grandson as Philip V, King of Spain and prepared for a war which was likely to be a great one. But unwise actions of his own made the war greater than, perhaps, it need have been. Europe might have allowed Philip to succeed to the Spanish throne if it was made clear that Spain and France given to would still be separate nations, but Louis from the Holland, first, seemed to regard Spain and France as one, and Spanish and French troops as interchangeable. French garrisons were introduced into the towns of the Spanish Netherlands. Louis offended the feelings of the English by an even more serious mistake. James II died in his exile near Paris, and the widowed English queen implored Louis XIV to and grant at least the title of king to her young son. England who was afterwards known as the Old Pretender. Louis had promised by the Treaty of Ryswick to give no help to the Stuart royal family and this was regarded in England as a contravention of that promise. But in spite of this he

yielded to the queen's wishes, and saluted the prince as James, King of England. The result was that the English Parliament, which had hitherto resisted all the efforts of William III to drag it into war, was now convinced of its necessity, and voted the men and money that were required. One of William III's last acts, and one of the most important of his life, was to re-organize the Grand Alliance to fight against France. He died before hostilities had actually broken out, but his place as soldier and diplomatist was taken by the Duke of Marlborough, who in both respects was more than the equal of his royal master, though in honesty of purpose and elevation of character far his inferior.

So the great war began. France, in alliance with Spain and Bavaria, might seem in a strong position. Bavaria undoubtedly gave her real help, but from Spain, in spite of the immense extent of the Spanish Empire and the fine military qualities of its people, she received no assistance at all. The organization of Spain was so bad, the efficiency of her government so low, that France bound to Spain was "like a living body bound to a dead one." On the other side were to be found nearly all the great powers of Europe. England, Holland, the Empire and the Electorate of Brandenburg, which took in 1700 the title of Kingdom of Prussia, and this alliance suffered far less than most alliances have done from diversity of aim and quarrels among the confederates. Between Marlborough, the representative of England, which country supplied not indeed most troops, but the greatest amount of money, and Prince Eugene, the representative of the emperor, there was a close friendship and a thorough understanding, and these two were able throughout the war to work in thorough harmony, with Hensius, the Grand Pensionary of Holland. Unity was to be found, indeed, far more truly on the side of the Grand Alliance than on the side of France, although the King of Spain was the grandson of the King of France. The war which now began was of enormous scope. Europe had, perhaps, never known one that concerned so many states and lands. The War of the

Spanish Succession, as it is called, seemed at one time likely to connect itself with another war that was raging further east in Europe, in which the power of Sweden was attacked by Russia, by Poland, and by some of the German states. Of this northern war we shall speak in the next chapter, it will only be necessary here to summarize the results of the war in the west of Europe.

There were four main theatres of the war. First, in the Netherlands, the English and Dutch attacked the Spanish possessions. Secondly, in Italy the Austrians tried to drive the French and Spaniards from Milan. Thirdly, Bavaria was during the early stages of the war the most important centre of hostilities, while Bavarian and French troops could maintain themselves there it was impossible for the Austrians to come in sufficient numbers to the assistance of Marlborough, and on several occasions it seemed possible that France might win a decisive victory on this arena. The fourth theatre of the war was Spain itself, where, more than anywhere else, the fortunes of the war fluctuated, and reached at last an unexpected conclusion. A fifth theatre ought, perhaps, to be added, for while the armies of France were occupied with these many campaigns, the Protestants of the Cevennes rose in a fierce insurrection against their Catholic oppressors, and it seemed for a time as though France would be unable to suppress this dangerous rising.

The scope of this book forbids us to try to follow any of the campaigns, or even to mention many battles which are famous in the annals of the armies of France and England. We must, however, notice the chief divisions of the war and the causes of its final issue. The battle of Blenheim in 1704 cut the war into two unequal parts. Up to that time fortune had by no means decided against France, but then Marlborough, in a march of wonderful skill, brought his victorious army to join that of Prince Eugene, and together they inflicted upon France one of the most crushing defeats known in her annals. From that time forward the war ceased in Bavaria, and it was only in the other theatres of the war which we have mentioned that hostilities were

prosecuted For a long time from this point the tide of war flowed wholly in favour of the allies The Spanish Netherlands were completely overrun by troops under Marlborough's command, and the French were expelled wholly from Italy In Spain equal disasters fell upon the French and their allies Gibraltar had fallen into the hands of the English in 1704, and a little later the Austrian archduke was able to enter Madrid, where he was proclaimed King Charles III of Spain

It seemed then as though the war could only end in the complete humiliation of France Two causes made that

The humiliation at last far less than it seemed likely recovery of to be at one time First the national spirit of Spain

Spain blazed up, as it has so often done in the hour of her extremest peril, and though the French were no longer able to give assistance, the Spaniards by themselves recovered their lost ground, and inflicted defeats upon the allies, brought Philip V victoriously into Madrid, and expelled the enemy from all but Gibraltar on the south and Barcelona on the east

The other cause which worked ultimately in favour of France was the arrogance and self-confidence of the allies themselves When, in 1709, Louis XIV asked for conditions of peace,

the conditions which were offered him were at once so ruinous and so dishonourable that in spite of the terrible exhaustion of the country, he determined to fight on again, and from that hour, though France had still to suffer more than one defeat the situation began to improve Then in 1711 there came a change in England which more than anything else averted from France the extreme of disaster The war had

been from the first the policy of the Whig party, and the Tories were anxious for peace The Whig party had been gradually undermined by the queen's own leaning to their opponents, by the

expenses and losses of the war, and by religious controversies in which the Government was engaged A personal quarrel between the queen and her favourite, Lady Marlborough, precipitated at last the overthrow of the Whig party, and no sooner were the Tories in power than they made eager overtures

for peace, and offered to the King of France more than he could at one time have anticipated. Great Britain very soon retired from the war altogether, in spite of the efforts made by Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough to induce her to go on with it. Upon Austria, thus isolated, the French Peace inflicted a heavy defeat in the battle of Denain, and Utrecht thus peace came at last. France made peace with Great Britain at Utrecht in 1713, and with Austria at Rastadt in 1714.

Its chief conditions were as follows. Philip V remained King of Spain, but a promise was given that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. The losses of Spain suffered much diminution, the Netherlands and Milan, Naples, and Sardinia went to Austria, England kept Gibraltar and Port Mahon in Minorca, Sicily was added to the territories of Savoy, but Spanish national sentiment was gratified by the fact that by their own almost unaided efforts they had maintained the king of their own choice upon their throne. France lost far less than had at one time seemed probable. The Protestant succession was recognized in England and the Pretender was expelled from France. It was of immense ultimate importance, though it produced little impression at the time, that France ceded to England Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the territory of Hudson's Bay. The cessions of France to Holland and to Austria were of comparatively little importance, and the most important result of the war for France is not to be found in these territorial changes, though some of them are full of influence on the next generation, but in the fact that France emerged from the war terribly exhausted, with her finances in disorder and her debts enormously increased, with her prestige in Europe diminished if not destroyed, and the enthusiastic loyalty of the people to the Crown undermined and changed in many instances to distrust. During the course of the war opposition was for the first time openly expressed to the policy of the king. Chief among the critics were Fénélon, one of the best representatives of the Church in France, and Vauban, whom we have already noted as a great soldier and engineer. In different ways they openly criticized the action of the king. Vauban pointed to the frightful

impoverishment of the country, and suggested as remedies a more equal system of taxation and the restoration of the Protestants to their old rights as citizens. Fénelon had never been in sympathy with the absolutist policy of Louis XIV, now he declared that "his policy had impoverished France, and that he had built his throne on the ruin of all classes in the state."

Louis XIV was a very old man at the end of the war, and domestic as well as foreign disasters had fallen in rapid succession upon him. The succession to the crown had seemed assured, but now disease carried away first his eldest son, and then his eldest grandson, and then even his great-grandson, who was in the direct line of succession. The heir to the throne was now a child two years old. If he also were to die the succession of the crown would be a matter of grave difficulty, and, even if he were to live, France would have to face a long period of regency. The last efforts of Louis XIV were devoted to arranging for a council of regency which should rule after his death. He wished above all things to avoid the rule of the Duke of Orleans, his cousin, whose political ideas he feared and whose religious opinions he detested. By his last will he instituted a Council of Regency in which his own illegitimate children were to have place, and in which the Duke of Orleans was to be nothing more than president. He hoped thus that his own system would in its main features be carried on after his death, which occurred in the year 1715.

His death marks an epoch in European history. France had led European civilization for nearly a century, and nearly all States looked up to her as their example, not only in the arts of peace and of war, but also in methods of government. The financial exhaustion caused by the last war, and the miserable government under which she was soon to fall, degraded her from that high position and left the European arena free for other combatants.

All French histories devote much attention to this, which is in many respects the most important period of French history. The

best account is to be found in vols 7 and 8 of the *Histoire de France*, edited by Lavissee Saint Simon's *Memoires* are the chief authority for the life of the court There is a useful abridged version in English in three vols by Bayle St John Hassall's *Louis XIV.* Macaulay's brilliant essay on the War of Spanish Succession

CHAPTER X

Great Britain in the Seventeenth Century

I

WE have surveyed the history of the chief states of Europe during the seventeenth century It is the object of this chapter to cast a glance on the history of Great Britain during the same time, and we shall extend our survey as far as the accession of George I in 1714, which marks a much clearer epoch in our history than the accession of Queen Anne in 1702

We saw that the history of our island in the sixteenth century has certain features in which it resembles closely that of the chief states of Western Europe during the same period, the overshadowing of representative institutions by the monarchy, the great influence of religious controversies and aspirations, a splendid participation in all that is loosely called

Isolation of
Britain in
the seven-
teenth
century

the Renaissance But in the seventeenth century the history of England and of Great Britain becomes much more isolated and develops peculiar characteristics to which no country in Western Europe can offer at all a close parallel The communication with the rest of Europe was, of course, constant throughout, and the example of France exercised over the royal government of England almost throughout the whole Stuart period a strong and dangerous fascination Strafford tried to do for Charles I much what Richelieu had done for Louis XIII, and when the Restoration brought back Charles

II after the storms of the Puritan Rebellion, the king spoke often of the "French model" as that which a king ought to set before himself, and he would have liked to follow that model in both politics and religion, but all such ideas suffered

hopeless shipwreck in the revolution of 1688
Importance of the revolution of 1688 This great victory for Parliament was England's most important contribution to the political life of Europe If we look round Europe at the

beginning of 1688 the trend was everywhere away from parliamentary institutions and towards the centralized administration of monarchies It seemed that the state was weakened when the people were "taken into partnership" The victory of the English Parliament in 1688 and its great triumphs in the following century—triumphs in war, commerce, colonization and finance—gave a new tendency to European history and re-established political liberty in favour both with statesmen and theoreticians

When James I came to the English throne in 1603 a change from the policy of Queen Elizabeth was certain,

James I for the Tudor system had been unconsciously accepted as a means of meeting dangers, internal or external, and was bound to suffer change when those dangers had passed away But the character of James I made the change rapid and dangerous He was the greatest possible contrast to Queen Elizabeth He had none of her caution and sagacity, none of her knowledge of the realities of European life, above all, while Elizabeth nearly always acted as the representative of the state, James I was in politics and religion an egoistic partisan He held strongly

The divine right of kings the doctrine of the "divine right of kings" This unfortunate phrase had meant in the sixteenth century that the secular state, represented by the prince or king, had a right to exist, whether the church approved of it or not It was at first pre-eminently a Protestant idea But in the seventeenth century the phrase changed its meaning, as phrases often do, and meant that there was a special sanctity about the *persons* of kings, that the will of God as revealed in scripture was in favour of the absolute authority of kings and opposed to any interference with them

rights and prerogatives, that kings were in a special sense the successors of Adam and had of right dominion over the whole earth. It was a doctrine known elsewhere, but nowhere so loudly proclaimed as in England.

Parliament on its side was stirred with a new life. If we compare England with France in the sixteenth century there is a superficial resemblance, but a profound contrast. There had been a time in the sixteenth century (about 1560) when an onlooker might have said that the States General were likely to be a greater influence in France than the Parliament in England, but it would have been a thoroughly superficial judgment. The States General claimed much, but they possessed no more power than they could win from the weakness of the government. When the government was strong it easily pushed them aside and, as we have seen, they disappeared in 1614 only to reappear for a moment during the first earthquake shocks of the Revolution. And if the States General had but shallow roots in the history of France the Parliament of Paris was wholly unsuited to champion the cause of liberty. Lawyers have done much for liberty, but they are apt to give it a narrow and one-sided interpretation, and if the Paris Parliament had been more enlightened than it was it had no constitutional powers to act as an efficient check on the government, still less to act as an opposition government itself. But the English Parliament had been a chief part of the public life of England for centuries. Its powers were not yet defined, its theory had not been thought out, but to destroy it altogether was, even in the Tudor period, an unthinkable revolution. When the monarchy was weak and unpopular and the country free from grave external danger, Parliament stepped naturally forward, claimed at first "to be something in the state," and ultimately to be the chief authority. Nor was there any possibility in England of the soldier's sword being thrown with immediate and decisive effect into the opposite scale. The sea preserved our liberties by saving us from the need of a standing army.

Parliament
in the
seven-
teenth
century

The
French
States
General
and the
English
Parliament

Strength
of the
English
Parliament

Religion, too, came to increase the antagonism between king and Parliament. The settlement of the Church by Henry VIII and Elizabeth seemed to many a half-way house. Some wanted to revert in order and ritual to the standard of an earlier age, others wanted to make the ideas of Geneva supreme at Canterbury and preferred Presbyterianism to Episcopalianism.

The reign of James I saw the preparation for the great struggle. Parliament tried to enforce against the king its exclusive right of granting taxation, and it criticized his general conduct of public affairs. James met its criticism without dignity or tact, and at his death bequeathed a difficult task to his son Charles I. With the history of France in our minds we may note, too, another feature of the struggle in England—the failure of the foreign policy of the government. The kings of England must sometimes have asked themselves why they might not give to the government of England the form that was so much admired in France. One answer (not perhaps the most important) is that they did not give to the foreign action of England either dignity or success.

Richeieu and Mazarin made France the arbiter of Europe, but the first two Stuarts made England a laughing stock to foreign nations. She was defeated and humiliated by Spain and constantly outwitted by France. The connection between the constitutional government of England and her foreign policy is not so close as it is in some other countries, but it is always important.

When Charles I faced his first parliaments he was discredited by his failure in the wars against Spain and France, and by the support which he gave to the unpopular Duke of Buckingham. The first two parliaments were angrily dismissed. But he was anxious to carry through his expedition to Rochelle on behalf of the Huguenots (the siege was an incident almost equally important for the history of England and of France, it established the power of Richelieu; it shook fatally the authority of the English king), and he therefore called a third Parliament. The king's need

of money has always been the lever by which Parliament has won power for itself and liberty for the people Charles I was now forced to accept the Petition of Right (1628), which declared that taxes could not be levied without consent of Parliament, that Englishmen could not be imprisoned without cause shown and trial given, and that soldiers and sailors could not be billeted on private householders without their consent It is one of the capital documents of English liberty But the contest between king and Parliament was not settled, and soon this Parliament was dissolved like its predecessors

Eleven years followed (1629-1640) during which Charles I, with Wentworth (afterwards Earl Strafford) as his agent, ruled without Parliament and tried to bring England into harmony with "the French model" Means were found of raising money that would suffice to meet the expenses of the state in time of peace, and when the Judge declared that Ship money could be levied, to such amounts and at such times as the king thought necessary, the King of England must have seemed to some near the goal of a "French" absolutism Had the view of the judges been maintained it would have had somewhat the same effect upon England that the *ordonnance sur la gendarmerie* of 1439 had upon France And how could it be annulled? If resistance were offered the army that Wentworth was raising in Ireland would suffice, it was hoped, to beat down all opposition

II

If religious passions had not come to the support of political aims would Charles I have been overthrown? It was, at any rate, from this side of religion that the decisive blow was struck The king had co-operated with Laud, who was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, in giving or restoring to the Church of England certain ornaments and ceremonies, which seemed to the Puritans "the leavings of Rome" Then he endeavoured to do something of the same kind for the Church in Scotland Already Bishops had been

introduced by James I, now a Book of Common Prayer closely analogous to that of England was insisted on. It was denounced by the Presbyterians as Papistry and idolatry, and acting along with other grievances of a secular kind produced the risings which are known as the Scotch Bishops' Wars. At once all the carefully built plans of Charles I collapsed. The

The Bishops' wars in Scotland brings the Long Parliament. *regime* of these eleven years was possible only in peace or at most with success in war. And now there came war and failure. How to meet the heavy expenses that had been incurred? The king must needs approach Parliament again. He called in 1640 the Parliament, which is known as the Long Parliament, and which is the most important of all parliamentary assemblies, unless the French Convention of 1792 can put in a better claim to the title.

The years 1640 to 1660 have probably attracted more attention and been the subject of more books than any period

The Puritan Rebellion compared with the Thirty Years' War of our history. We must not attempt to tell the story even in outline, but a few words may be said as to the contrast between this civil war (the real English Revolution) and the contemporary civil wars in Germany and France. There is not much resemblance between the Puritan Rebellion and the Thirty Years' War in Germany, except that in

both ecclesiastical co-operated with political causes. The struggle in England (the story is a very different one in Ireland) was not savage nor inhuman, the destruction of life and property was not great, the soldiers for the most part had an interest in the cause for which they fought and cannot fairly be called mercenaries. The people of these islands too settled their destiny by their own hands, there was little interference from foreign nations, and foreign armies never touched our shores. The Thirty Years' War involved nearly every state of central and western Europe, but the Puritan Rebellion was confined to England, Ireland and Scotland.

The parallel with the French Fronde is perhaps closer, but cannot be pushed very far. The religious motive was not wanting in France, but the Jansenism, by which many of the parliamentarians of Paris were influenced, had little of the

strength of English puritanism, nor was it so genuinely and so widely influential. The two movements are separated from one another by all the distance which divides and with Jansenism from puritanism, the *parlement* of Paris the Fronde, from the Parliament of Westminster, Cromwell from Condé, the English aristocracy from the French noblesse.

The Long Parliament embarked on a course of action that swiftly led to civil war. They sent Earl Strafford to the scaffold and Charles let him perish. (How French history would have been changed if Louis XIII had the Long abandoned Richelieu to his enemies!) Then they Parliament attacked the king's policy in church and state. The king thought to intimidate Parliament by seizing its ringleaders, but the attempt failed, and was taken as a declaration of war. During the first two years the fighting was not unequal. Then two causes gave victory to Parliament. First, Pym negotiated an alliance with Scotland on the basis of the acceptance by England of the "Solemn League and Covenant," and Scotch armies entered England to fight on the side of the Parliament. Next, at the same time Cromwell was building up the army of the new model, a regular army, regularly paid, well drilled, well equipped, permeated by strong religious enthusiasm, which favoured independency rather than presbyterianism. So Charles was beaten at Marston Moor (1644) and crushed at Naseby (1645).

The army that had achieved this end was no ordinary army. It had very strong ideas of its own on politics and religion, and entirely refused to submit to the dictation of Parliament. It negotiated with the king, and perhaps if the king had accepted its proposals and entered into alliance with the army leaders he might have won his way back to the throne and to some measure of power. But he was fatally optimistic and had an unshakable belief in his powers of diplomacy. He took advantage of the widely divergent views between the Scotch and the English army leaders, and induced the Scotch to invade England on his behalf. There had been no notion of his death before this. It was this second civil war, not his first attack on the constitution, which led to his execution.

For Fairfax held the English supporters of the king at Colchester, and Cromwell crushed the Scotch and their English allies at Preston. Then the army, flushed with victory and habituated to bloodshed, returned to London to deal with the "man Charles Stuart." Parliament was coerced by the army. The members, who were not favourable to the army's policy, were driven off. It was a small minority of the Long Parliament—the Rump as it was called—which under the dictation of the army set up a court to try and to execute the king (January, 1649).

III

A Commonwealth or Republic was set up. There were enemies on every side. The majority of the English people were against the Commonwealth men, Ireland was against them and Scotland. It hardly seemed that the new form of government was likely to last for the eleven years that Fate actually allotted to it. But at first it overcame all its enemies. In Cromwell the Commonwealth possessed a leader of extraordinary power for war and for administration—a man enthusiastic and yet practical, devout and yet alive to the financial and commercial interests of England—who was driven by circumstances to be a revolutionary and yet had strong conservative instincts. He beat down the opposition of Ireland, but the cruelty of his action and his ruthless and unjust expropriation of the people from their lands left bitter memories and problems in the government of Ireland that England has not yet solved. The threat to the Commonwealth from Scotland seemed more serious. Charles II had been proclaimed king in Edinburgh and the whole Scotch nation, divided though it was on many questions, was unanimous in its dislike for what the army had done in England. But the military supremacy, which had seemed to belong to Scotland at the beginning of the war, had now passed decidedly to England. The Scotch army was unexpectedly defeated at Dunbar (1650), and when Charles II undertook a raid into England he was caught and

defeated at Worcester Cromwell was the agent in both victories, more and more he became the one man who really counted in the country

The future government of England was occupying the attention of many The country at large had little influence: the army had become the one force in England: Cromwell in 1653 Cromwell expelled the Rump Parliament made which had no longer any claim to speak as the Protector representative of the country A new scheme emanated from the officers, which was embodied in the Instrument of Government There was to be a Parliament consisting of a single House of Commons elected by constituencies which anticipated the Reform Bill of 1832 At the head was to be a Lord Protector assisted by a Council of State The Lord Protector could be no other than Cromwell and he was to occupy the office for life

But though Cromwell was a great man, whose honesty of purpose no one now disputes the position was unstable, and the scheme of government unworkable The plain Cromwell's fact is that the mass of the population did not want political the dominion of Puritanism, desired the return of failure. the monarchy, and disliked the rule of Cromwell His power rested on the army alone, but he was unwilling to believe it He sought hard, but in vain, to find some readjustment of the new machine of government which should make it acceptable to at least a large section of the people of England But he had won his power by the sword, and was doomed to rule by the sword. How great his power was, was shown when, in 1655, Spain and France became rivals for his favour His alliance with France gave her her final victory, and led soon to the Peace of the Pyrenees But Cromwell did not live to see the Peace, and died in September, 1658

Then followed a period of extraordinary confusion, which may be summarized as follows The great mass of Englishmen was opposed to the new régime; Royalists, English Churchmen, Presbyterians, Democrats, Parliamentarians—none really accepted the system in Church or State which had been established under the Protectorate of Cromwell It rested only on the support of

the army, and now that support broke Richard Cromwell, who succeeded his father as Protector, was a man of little force, and soon resigned. The army leaders quarrelled with one another. The Rump Parliament found amidst the confusion a chance of returning to office, and imagined that it had returned to power. It was only from the army that any final solution could come. Monk, who was in command of the army in Scotland, who had begun as a Royalist and had always been rather a Cromwellian than a Puritan, marched into England, and, after a period of embarrassed silence, declared that England must decide her destinies in a freely elected Parliament. The first act of the new Parliament was to declare that "the government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons," and to invite Charles II to return to the throne of his father. He came, and was received with a hysterical passion of repentant loyalty.

IV

England was again a monarchy like the other States of Western Europe. The opinion of the king was that the resemblance should be carried further, and that the aims of England should copy the "French model" in Charles II political and ecclesiastical affairs. But all efforts to that end were doomed to failure. England was no nearer to the French model in 1660 than she had been in 1640. The Restoration was the result of a revulsion against the government of the army and the Puritan dominion, it was inspired by no fondness for royal despotism, it was the restoration of Parliament quite as much as the restoration of the monarchy. Parliament and monarchy were again face to face with no real settlement of their conflicting claims, and the conflict was not really one of theory or precedents, but of *power*. "If two men ride on a horse, one must ride behind."

Charles II found the life of a king very pleasant after the adventures of his long exile, and was resolved "not to go on his travels again." He was nimble witted, a master of expedients, incapable of fanaticism for any cause, and quickly

sensitive of the approach of danger The tension with Parliament soon began again The ideas of Parliament were not the ideas of the king, either in politics or religion Charles II Parliament was strongly Anglican, and Parliament passed statutes bitterly oppressive of all forms of dissent, while the king leaned strongly to Roman Catholicism, and was anxious to try the experiment of religious toleration Foreign affairs played their part much would have been allowed to a king who gave the country glory and success But England blundered into a war with Holland War with for commercial and colonial reasons, in 1665, and Holland suffered bitter humiliation in the contest A Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames, attacked Chatham, and held London blockaded for several weeks It was the bitterest naval humiliation that England has ever received, and it reacted instantly on the political situation at home The country was exasperated, too, by the Plague and the Fire of London The king sacrificed his great minister, Clarendon, and had to submit to still closer financial control by his Parliament

In 1668, when France was pressing hard on the Belgian provinces of Spain in the War of Devolution, Charles II adopted a policy which gave great satisfaction to the country He joined with Holland and with Sweden in the Triple Alliance to check the aggression of Louis XIV The new arrangement was immediately successful, and Louis XIV accepted the Treaty of Dover.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle But the new aim in the foreign policy of England was soon abandoned Charles II was personally disappointed with its results, for Parliament had not relaxed its watchful control over his expenditure, nor allowed him to grant toleration to Catholic and Protestant dissenters The example of France still exercised its fascination With the help of the French king he hoped to make himself the real ruler of England, and to be able to declare himself a Roman Catholic So, in 1670, he made with France the Secret Treaty of Dover He promised to join with France in an attack on Holland whenever France desired it, and in return, France was to help him with men and money in his designs of making the monarchy independent of Parliament, and Roman

Catholicism a tolerated form of religion in England No king of England has ever entered into a compact nearly so treasonable against his people The actions for which Charles I lost his head were venial in comparison the treason of Louis XVI, according to the worst interpretation of his actions, was of not nearly so black a dye

It was a crime and it was a blunder too The later troubles of his reign are to be traced to it, and it contributed to the Later expulsion of James II and the Stuart dynasty troubles of from the throne of England We have seen how Charles II the French attack on Holland failed, and how it brought to power the young Prince of Orange who was destined to reign as William III in England The secret of the Treaty was well kept, but it was suspected and ultimately it leaked out The Protestant and parliamentary opposition to the king became far more bitter than before He was forced in 1674 to make peace with Holland, but the suspicions and hostility of his opponents were not allayed Charles II had no legitimate children It was probable that his brother James would reign after him and James was a declared Roman Catholic The opposition, which was at first known as the "Country party" and subsequently as the "Whigs," concentrated their efforts on the Exclusion Bill, by which it The Ex- was proposed to remove James from the succession clusion Bill on the ground of his religion Could the bill have been passed it would have been a great victory for the Whigs, it would have done nearly all that the Revolution of 1688 did, for it would have clearly destroyed monarchy by divine right, which always tended to become monarchy with absolute powers, and it would have based the English monarchy for the future on the grant of Parliament But Charles II resolved to resist the proposal with all his force He showed in the contest great energy and even conviction, the principle of hereditary right was what he most held by and most believed in Parliaments were dismissed again and again Shaftes- because they pressed the Exclusion Bill And on bury and the Popish the other side the Whigs, under the leadership of Plot Shaftesbury, perhaps the ablest conspirator in the annals of England, shrunk from no means of gaining their

object They made use of all the monstrous fabrications of the Popish plot even if they did not invent them The country seemed on the edge of civil war

Victory rested with the king His opponents overreached themselves by their unscrupulousness and their passion They put forward, as claimant to the throne, the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of the king, and a man of weak character and poor talents The king on his side entered again into close relations with Louis XIV to get from him the money that he wanted For the contest turned on money. Could the king carry on the business of the state without taxes granted by Parliament? That was the question on the answer to which all depended The support of Louis XIV. allowed Charles II to dispense with Parliament, and from Triumph of 1681 to his death in 1685 he called none This Charles II was in itself a triumph for the king, and it was accompanied by a revulsion of opinion in his favour The fraud and cruelty of the alleged revelations of the Popish plot recoiled upon those who had fabricated or used them The Whigs were thoroughly discredited Shaftesbury fled to Holland and died there James, Duke of York, against whom the Exclusion Bill was directed, was brought by the reaction of opinion into the councils of the king, and had great influence there during the last two years of the reign

The triumph of the king had been bought at the price of the weakness of England in foreign affairs If Charles II could not call a Parliament it was clear he could not England contemplate any military or naval action, for it and was only from Parliament that he could get the Louis XIV necessary funds This was the time of Louis XIV's Courts of Reunion and of his annexation of Luxemburg If Parliament had been sitting it would have demanded interference, and many powers were looking to England for a lead in the matter But no lead came, and so Strasburg, Luxemburg and Casale were annexed without more than a futile protest from Germany and a hopeless military effort by Spain

V

When James II began to reign in 1685 the omens were favourable to a great development of royal power. The Prospects Whigs were discredited. Parliament was subserviently loyal. Had James II been prudent, had he kept his politics separated from his religion, the Revolution of 1688 might not impossibly have been a successful royalist *coup d'état*, which would have established in England a government somewhat after the French model. But prudence was not among his virtues, and he was willing to run risks and make sacrifices for his religion. His aim was to introduce a measure of toleration for Roman Catholics along with the Protestant dissenters from the English Church. But the Protestantism of Parliament was stronger than its royalism, and it refused to co-operate in the king's policy. It was promptly dismissed, and the king blundered along towards his fall. In no case would the country have been likely to accept his declaration of religious "indulgence," but its hostility to the proposal was rendered greater by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in France, which served to show that Roman Catholicism would never be satisfied with a position of equality in the state. The king's proposal to give the Roman Catholics of England freedom of worship was entirely just and safe, for they had long ceased to harbour treasonous designs against the state. It was the cruelty of Louis XIV to his Protestants in France and the union in men's minds of Roman Catholicism with political absolutism which ruined the chance of a change in itself just and right. Seven Bishops were charged with treason for presenting a petition against an edict that was certainly illegal, the charge provoked general indignation, and their acquittal was the occasion for an outburst of enthusiasm. At the same time the unexpected birth of a son to the king showed that the king's death would not bring any change in the royal policy, for the child would be brought up in his father's religion and would be likely to pursue his father's political designs.

So William III, Statthalter of Holland, and the king's son-in-law, who was already known as the great champion of

Protestantism in Europe and the bitter enemy of the French power, was invited to come over and save The land-Protestantism and parliamentary liberties in Eng- ing of Wil- land We have already seen the importance of the ham III incident for the general European situation we have seen how Louis XIV might have prevented William III from sailing by an attack on Holland and how he attacked the Rhine instead So William sailed and landed at Torbay on November 5, 1688 James, partly through failure of nerve, and partly through a misreading of the situation and a belief that he could procure revenge and victory from France, abandoned the struggle and fled to France William III was made king and the Revolution of 1688 was an accomplished fact We have already seen the war that followed in dealing with the history of France William had a long struggle and some critical hours before the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 secured the "Revolution Settlement"

What was the Revolution—"the glorious Revolution" as it was long the custom to call it, though the phrase is now out of fashion? Europe has seen so many revolu- The Revo- tions since then, so much more far-reaching and lution of violent, that the movement of 1688 hardly seems 1688 to deserve the title it was comparatively so orderly, it was so legal in its forms and in England it entailed such little bloodshed How great is the contrast between the ideas evoked by 1688 and by 1789 or 1848! But 1688 was in the highest degree successful, and its results may be summarized under two heads First, it secured the individual liberties of Englishmen against the Crown and government Henceforth it was not disputed that the king could not tax without consent of Parliament, could not maintain a standing army without the same consent, could not imprison anyone without trial And next the power of Parliament was in fact established The authority that had belonged to the king passed as a result of the Revolution of 1688, though not as an immediate result, over to the Parliament And Parliament was The rule not yet the representative of the whole people, of the it was, by the constitution of both houses and by aristocracy tradition, the landed aristocracy that really controlled the

nation, and for nearly a century and a half it was really the landed aristocracy of England that guided her destinies. What a contrast England presents to France, where the aristocracy had been expelled from all power and the king ruled supreme through his intendants and his civil service, drawn usually from the middle class! It was the landed aristocracy, firmly entrenched in Parliament, which won the British Empire. It was a body not wholly unlike that Roman senate which had created the Empire of Rome.

The reign of William III is chiefly occupied with foreign affairs, and these have been dealt with, as far as the scope of this book allows, in the chapter dealing with the reign of Louis XIV. We need not repeat the story but we may note that in Scotland Presbyterianism, against which the Stuarts had struck so many blows, was now firmly established there. Scotland was still an independent state joined to England only by the fact that the same king reigned in both countries. The Revolution allowed more friendly feelings to develop between the two countries, and in the next reign the Whig ministry succeeded in inducing Scotland to allow her Parliament to be joined with that of England to produce the Parliament of Great Britain. The history of Ireland during the seventeenth century is a long and tragic story. The ardent Catholicism of the land and its hostility to England had drawn it over to the side of James II. There was at one time some hope of a great triumph, but the Stuart hopes had been broken at the Battle of the Boyne by William III, and later destroyed by the Duke of Marlborough. The ascendancy of the Protestant landowners of Ireland was fixed upon the country and was not shaken for about a century.

At the end of the reign, when it was clear that there would be no children of William III nor of his sister-in-law, the Princess Anne, to succeed to the throne, an Act of Settlement was passed, excluding from the throne the descendants of James II and all Roman Catholics, and transferring the Crown to the Electress of Hanover, a Protestant and the granddaughter of James I. The parliamentary title of the monarchy was thus a second time asserted.

The reign of Queen Anne may be lightly touched on. Its main interest is the War of the Spanish Succession, and that has been already dealt with. Nor can Queen the domestic politics of the reign, interesting Anne, though they are, detain us long. who are occupied with a survey of all European history. The sum of what happened is this The Tories regained power, and came near to upsetting the Act of Settlement, and bringing to the throne the Roman Catholic son of James II. instead of the Protestant Elector of Hanover. There is nothing mysterious in all this. The Revolution of 1688 had been the work of a minority in which the nation had unwillingly Jacobitism. acquiesced because of their fear and hatred of the Papal power. But William III. had never been popular. and the loyalty to the house of Stuart was by no means dead. It was kept alive especially by the English Church. which had not ceased to preach the doctrine of the divine right of kings. The chance of the Tories came in Queen Anne's reign. The queen herself sympathized with them. The Church declared itself ardently on their side. The war was essentially a Whig war, and in its early stages it kept the Whigs in power; but as it dragged on and the nation grew weary of the expense and loss of life, the Tories came rapidly to the front. The queen's personal quarrel with the Duchess of Marlborough contributed to the change. It is a moment of intrigue without parallel in the modern history of England and the chief agents in it were Oxford and Bolingbroke.

The country was saved from the Stuarts by a violent quarrel between the Tory leaders and by the unexpected death of Queen Anne. If the Hanoverian suc- The Han-
cession were to be resisted it could only be done by overian
war. and Bolingbroke had not the nerve for that succession.
George I. was proclaimed king in 1714 without opposition,
and a well-marked epoch in English history was ended

VI

The seventeenth century has probably attracted more attention from foreign students than any other part of our

history It is a period full of great and dramatic events, in which great actors and great principles play a part a period, too, of which Englishmen may well be proud, because of the noble figures which are to be found on both sides of the great contest that runs through the whole of it In literature and thought it cannot claim to rank quite with the sixteenth century, but it comes not far behind that The Restoration marks in the political life of England and in the surface of her social life a great deterioration English society took from France what was worst in her ways and ideas, and seemed incapable of assimilating what was noblest in the thought and art of the age of Louis XIV But Charles II and his dissolute court and the fashionable society of London during his reign are not really representative of England, or at least are representative only of one section of it The age of Charles II and Buckingham and Titus Oates was also the age of Milton and Newton, of Wren and Bunyan and Penn

Wren was without question the greatest architect of England since the Renaissance and the beauty of St Paul's and his other churches is hardly yet properly appreciated Newton's work constitutes altogether perhaps the greatest victory of the human mind The famous couplet—

'Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night,
God said, 'Let Newton be' and all was light,"

gives no hint of the work of his countless predecessors, which alone made his own possible But by his development of mathematical method and by his discovery of the precise operation of the law of gravitation, he was able to penetrate the laws that govern the movements of the heavenly bodies, and to put into the hands of man a clue to the universe

The whole century is full of eager religious controversy We have seen the political importance of the career of Archbishop Laud, but, apart from the political consequences of his acts, he has left his mark upon English history by making clear and unquestionable the claim of the English church to a share in the inheritance of mediæval Catholicism It is curious that the great names in English

nonconformity, or at least their writings, belong not to the triumph of Puritanism but to its defeat. Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, began his work in 1648, and lived and worked during the reigns of Charles II and James II, dying in 1690. Penn's is a name hardly less important in the history of that society, and he has an additional importance that is derived from his connection with America, where he founded Pennsylvania. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was published in 1678, and his career as well as his writings illustrates the strength and greatness of the nonconformist bodies of the time.

Milton's name is too great a one to be joined even with those of Fox, Penn, and Bunyan as illustrating the character of nonconformity. "His soul was like a star and dwelt apart." There is no greater name in the history of English poetry, and an appreciation of his greatness may be taken as the touchstone of poetical insight. *Paradise Lost* was published in 1667, when England had just passed through the humiliation of the Dutch war, and the evil character of the court of Charles II was beginning to be known. Milton.

The whole century too is occupied with political philosophy, which is always influenced by the actual problems and experiences of the time. At the beginning there was the doctrine of the divine right of kings, which Hobbes has already been noted. The sufferings of England during the confusion of the Civil Wars prompted Hobbes to write his *Leviathan, or the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth* (1657). He saw in the power of the state and its royal chief the only safeguard against the recurrence of such evils. It is one of the books that has influenced the thought of the world, and in its exaltation of the power of the state has some resemblance to the political philosophy of Treitschke and other German writers, which has had so much influence on the outbreak and course of the recent great war. If the Puritan Rebellion was reflected in Hobbes, the ideas of the Revolution of 1688 found their great exponent in Locke. He was equally opposed to the divine right of kings and to the absolute state of Hobbes. He

found the origin of the state in a social contract and deduced from it the wisdom of a balanced constitution and a closely limited monarchy. For a century his writings remained the great exposition of the views of the Whigs and of the English constitution.

Two excellent volumes in the *Political History of England* by F. C. Montague and R. Lodge cover this period. S. R. Gardiner's *History of England to the Outbreak of the Great Civil War* (10 vols.), *History of the Great Civil War* (4 vols.), and *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate* (3 vols.) are the one great authority on the period they cover. Ranke's *History of England* gives a narrative for the whole period, especially valuable for the Restoration. Macaulay's *History of England* (the most popular of all histories) deals with the reign of James II and of William III. Hallam's *Constitutional History*, Burnet's *History of My Own Time*, Burton's *Reign of Queen Anne*, Firth's *Oliver Cromwell*, Ayr's *Charles II*, Traill's *William III*, Seeley's *Growth of British Policy*, are a few of the many excellent books that deal with this period.

CHAPTER XI

The Baltic Lands and the Rise of Russia

THE lands adjoining the Baltic Sea are so much less fertile than those round the Mediterranean, and many of the harbours of the Baltic are blocked during so large a part of the year by ice that there is little wonder that it has played in history a much less important part than the Mediterranean, which it resembles in many important features. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries great powers arose upon its shores, and we must trace in this chapter, in briefest outline, the destinies of the chief Baltic lands.

It seemed quite possible at the beginning of the sixteenth century that the whole Baltic Sea might be dominated by a single Scandinavian power. Christian II ruled in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and though the three countries were not by any means blended into one, it seemed possible that they might become so, for the three kingdoms had once been united, and might join together once more. Such a result would have made for the progress of Europe, for the Scandinavian races have shown their capacity to rank with the foremost of the nations of Europe in the arts of peace and war. But it was not to be. The storms of the Reformation era shattered the union. for Christian II, by his efforts to force on Sweden a Roman Catholic Government, provoked an insurrection which he was unable to suppress. Christian II kept possession of Norway, and for a long time of the southern provinces of Sweden, but Denmark and Sweden, despite their kinship in

language and character, were plunged into two centuries of intermittent warfare Denmark, before the middle of the century, adopted Lutheranism, but the common religious interests thus established were not enough to bring about political union or common action

In Sweden a nobleman, Gustavus Vasa, had taken the lead in the resistance to the King of Denmark and his religious policy, and he was soon rewarded by the throne of Sweden (1523), and with him there arose one of the most gifted of the royal houses of Europe The Swedish kings of the house of Vasa were men of varied character, and some of their reigns were stained by acts of perfidy and cruelty, but not even the Prussian house of Hohenzollern produced a line of rulers more remarkable for patriotism and capacity Under them Sweden played a

The poverty and smallness of Sweden part in the affairs of Europe out of all proportion to her wealth and population, for the country was poor, and the population of Sweden down to the end of the eighteenth century never exceeded a million and a half, nor with its dependencies did

it exceed two millions and a half But a large part of the population consisted of sturdy farmers and mountaineers, and these provided an unsurpassable material for military purposes We have already glanced at their heroic exploits, a century later than we have reached at present, under Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War Long after that they were reckoned the best fighting men in Europe, though they had degenerated from their old heroism and devotion and had become mercenaries, to whom pay was the chief inducement to service There was, moreover, in Sweden a vigorous constitutional life, sometimes crushed, but never entirely destroyed by her powerful kings Sweden and England were in the eighteenth century almost the only examples of a free political life when the general tendency was towards despotism

In 1587 the house of Vasa won another throne, for in that year Sigismund Vasa was elected to the throne of Poland But this was no gain to Sweden, but rather the reverse Sigismund was a Catholic, and between the two branches of the house of Vasa—the Swedish and the Polish—there

was soon the fiercest antagonism. The Polish branch would not altogether give up the idea of reigning in Sweden as well, and the kings of Sweden treated the Polish kings as dangerous pretenders. Fear of the Polish kings and their claim was one of the motives which impelled Gustavus Adolphus to plunge into the Thirty Years' War.

Let us now glance at the southern shores of the Baltic. At the beginning of the Reformation a number of German states stretched from Denmark to the eastern limits of the Empire—Holstein, Mecklenberg, and the Duchies of Pomerania. The Hanseatic League from its centre at Lubeck exercised a control over the trade of the Baltic.

Decline in the Hanseatic League

But the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth saw great changes. The Hanseatic League fell before the rising power of Sweden and Holland. By the Peace of Westphalia, Sweden

became a power in Germany also. She became possessed of the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, and thus controlled the mouths of both the Weser and the Elbe. She held also Western Pomerania, and thus held the lower reaches of the river Oder and the island of Rugen.

Sweden after the Peace of Westphalia

The Electorate of Brandenburg (out of which the kingdom of Prussia was soon to grow) had secured Eastern Pomerania, and had thus got a great interest in all Baltic affairs.

Eastern Pomerania was the limit of the Empire, and the lands that lay beyond that were none of them originally German. These lands had been the scene of the labours of the Knights of the Teutonic Order and the Knights of the Sword. Through their efforts the country had been opened up to trade and commerce.

The south-eastern shores of the Baltic.

The Slavonic inhabitants had been to a very large extent killed off, what remained of them had accepted Christianity. We have seen already how disaster had fallen upon these armed missionaries of German commerce and Christianity. East Prussia had become attached to the Electorate of Brandenburg, and was held until 1660 as a feudal dependency of Poland. Between East Prussia and the German lands Poland had pushed down her territories to the sea. To the

east of Prussia, Poland touched the Baltic again. Then came the lands which surround the gulf of Finland, viz. Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Kexholm, and Finland. These lands were the chief bone of contention between Sweden and Russia.

Their early obscure history need not be traced. It is enough to say that in 1617, as the result of much hard fighting on the part of Gustavus Adolphus, they were all united to Sweden. Russia (or Moscovy, as she was called then) was shut out from the Baltic and from all that trade on the high seas brings with it. Sweden was decidedly the first of the Baltic lands, and her power had not yet reached its zenith, but she was already burdened with vast non-Swedish territory in Germany, Finland, and the newly won lands, and her scanty population, in spite of its military ardour, would in the long run be insufficient to maintain them.

There have been great changes in the political geography of these lands. Not one of the frontiers of the seventeenth century is to be found on the modern map of Europe. Brandenburg, under its later title of Prussia, has swept along the north of Germany and has dispossessed all rivals. The territories of Denmark have shrunk to the northern part of the peninsula. Norway is an independent kingdom. Sweden has lost all lands but those where the Swedish tongue is spoken. Russia has hurled down all barriers that Swedish policy and valour tried to place in her westward path. And Poland, the other great Slavonic state, in the seventeenth century as populous as Russia and much more civilized, disappeared entirely from the map, until the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 restored her along with much else of historic interest in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

The contrast between the destinies of Poland and Russia is all the more striking because not only were the inhabitants akin in race and speech, but their institutions and social order were closely similar. But while the Government of Russia developed into an efficient despotism, Poland in pursuit of what she called liberty, allowed disorder of every kind to prevail,

until her anarchy made her a helpless prey to her neighbours

The vast extent of Poland was caused by the union of Poland proper with Lithuania. It was the special glory of the Jagellon dynasty in Poland that it managed to carry out Religious and perpetuate this union. The Lithuanians, for history of the most part, belonged to the Eastern (or Orthodox) Poland Church, while the Poles were predominantly Catholic. The Protestant movement had made at first great progress in Poland, but was defeated by the force and the enthusiasm of the Catholic reaction and the Jesuits. But it is to the great credit of the Poles that, though Catholicism was predominant, it was not oppressive or persecuting, religious oppression is one of the few evils which may affect a state from which Poland did not suffer.

The Jagellon dynasty died out in 1572, and from that time on the crown of Poland was elective, and the nobles and the gentry were the electors. Poland displayed, in the most The Polish exaggerated form, all the evils which spring from Crown elective monarchy, the bitter rivalry of the different elective candidates and of their supporters, the interference of foreign Powers, the dangerous concessions made by the candidates to secure election, and in the end the helpless weakness of the sovereignty that is thus won. But it was not only the sovereignty that was weak in Poland all other institutions, even those that were the natural rivals of the crown, were weak also. There was a diet, The but it was reduced to complete impotence by the "liberum liberum veto—the right, that is, of each member veto" to veto and prevent any proposition by his single vote, and even at last to dissolve or "explode" the diet when he chose. Fifteen diets in succession at one period of Poland's history met without performing any business through the application of the *liberum veto*. For while feudalism in all other countries was giving way to a centralized and national State, in Poland the anarchical tendency which was always present in feudalism grew constantly stronger. The country squires (their number is estimated at 80,000) were like kings on their own estates, to the ruin of the State and the bitter oppression of the unfortunate

peasantry Efforts were constantly made by the kings to strengthen the monarchy and give to the State the machinery of an efficient government, but they all failed, Polish anarchy at first through the opposition of the Poles themselves, and later through the action of the neighbouring powers who did not wish Poland to be strong or united

Space forbids us to attempt to trace in detail the history of Poland. It is full of exciting incidents and not without military glory. John Sobieski (1674-1696) was the last of the great kings of Poland. He is remembered best by his march to Vienna when the Turks were besieging it. He was the chief author of the epoch-making defeat of the Turks which followed. "There was a man sent from God whose name was John," was applied to him in the Cathedral of Vienna in the thanksgiving service. There are many other feats of arms to his credit, but Poland was not strengthened by them. He himself said to the Diet, "Posterity will be amazed to learn that the only result of so many victories and triumphs, shedding an eternal glory on the Polish name throughout the world, was irreparable ruin and damnation. Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed." The words characterize most of Polish history. The forty days required for the destruction of Poland turned out to be a little less than a hundred years, but destruction crept nearer with every decade.

Far different was the development of Moscovy or Russia. There, too, was a monarchy, partly elective, as all early monarchies were, there, too, was a large noble class, The development of the *boyars*, jealous of their privileges and hostile to the development of the power of the monarchy. Russia. But, except in the earliest stages, there was no resemblance between the development of Russia and that of Poland. Poland drove towards anarchy and dissolution, Russia was hammered by the blows of a cruel absolutism into a powerful State and embarked on a yet unended career of conquest north and south and east and west. It is difficult to determine the causes of this great contrast. Poland was Catholic, while Russia belonged to the "orthodox" Eastern Church, and the Eastern Church has often been a pliant instrument of

absolutism Poland also had escaped the Tartar invasion, which had contributed much to the centralization of Russian power. But most seems due to the action of the remarkable rulers who at frequent intervals sat on the Russian throne since the sixteenth century.

Ivan the Terrible (1533-1584) stands at the beginning of modern Russian history, and is a most characteristic figure. He was barbarously cruel, and after the destruction of the great city of Novgorod seemed to delight in the spectacle of torture inflicted upon men, women, and children. But he favoured the middle and lower classes, opened his country to the commerce of Western Europe, and showed some interest in learning. It was upon the nobles that his blows fell with merciless severity, and at every point he was the precursor of Peter the Great. With him the Russian monarchy appeared as the rough protector of the commons and the bitter enemy of the aristocracy.

Troubles of many kinds fell on Russia after Ivan's death, famine and plague and foreign and civil war. The family of Ivan soon died out, and in 1613 Michael Romanof, Peter the a boy of sixteen, was chosen, and nearly all the Great rulers of Russia since that date have been descended from him. We may pass over the next seventy-five years, though they are full of interesting incidents, domestic and foreign. The great epoch in the history of Russia came when in 1689 Peter the Great mounted the throne, which he occupied until 1725. His regime is indeed a continuation of that of his predecessors and of Ivan the Terrible. But it gave definite victory to forces which hitherto had had to struggle for existence. The history of modern Russia seems logically to develop from the events of his reign.

His childhood had been passed amid scenes of terror. He had seen his uncle murdered and his mother's chief minister cut to pieces as he clung to her grasp, and he knew that the aristocracy was the chief cause of these outrages. History presents us with no stranger character than his. He was capable of worse than bestial cruelty, and showed himself a true successor of Ivan the Terrible when he tortured his rebellious bodyguards.

to death by hundreds and permitted the cruel murder of his own son. But this ferocious tyrant was passionately interested in science and in industry, and anxious, above all things, to introduce the civilization of Europe into his own semi-barbarous land. There is a part of his career which recalls the worst side of Attila the Hun, but there is a part too which suggests resemblance to Louis XIV and to Colbert.

Let us see first what he did for the inner life and organization of the State, and then turn to his struggles with foreign powers. The two may be treated separately, though they are throughout dependent on one another.

His aims are clearly written in his life. He wished to exalt the authority of the monarchy above all rivals, to introduce European ways of life and thought, policy and to promote the wealth of Russia by commerce and industry. The nobles were reduced to obedience, and education and service in the army were a surer road to the royal favour than high birth. Aristocratic privileges and financial corruption found in him a determined censor. But he found also in the *strelitsi* a dangerous enemy to his schemes. These soldiers formed the old bodyguard of the King of Russia, and may be compared with the Janissaries of Turkey or the Prætorian Guards of the early Roman emperors. They were indolent, incapable, and excessively privileged, and resisted the efforts of Peter to introduce new methods. They rebelled and were defeated, but Peter was not satisfied with victory. The horrible death of a thousand of them bore witness to Peter's supreme authority within the army.

Throughout his life he laboured to Europeanize Russia, but he encountered a dogged resistance from the habits and traditions of the people supported by the Church. The Euro-He declared that the Russian nobles should no longer wear the vast untrimmed beards which had become a symbol of old Russian ways, and though the patriarch had excommunicated all those who obeyed, the royal edict was executed, and Peter clipped the beards of some of the *boyars* with his own hands. A tax was later imposed on all who continued to wear beards of the old type. Peter also encouraged the wearing of European clothes, introduced

European dancing, and fought against the oriental seclusion in which Russian women were kept. Russians had hitherto begun the year on September 1, "the anniversary of the creation," but Peter adopted the Western practice of beginning the year on January 1. He eagerly promoted the teaching of science and mathematics, and reformed the whole machinery of administration, taking on this point the advice of the German philosopher, Leibnitz. From early youth he had been attracted by ships and the sea-faring life, and later experience confirmed him in his view that access to the sea was a matter of life or death for Russia. It was power largely that he might know how to organize a fleet that he set out on his famous travels which took him to Holland, England, and France. He worked as a ship's carpenter in Holland, and laboured hard to understand the naval system of England during his residence at Deptford. On his return he built a considerable navy, and sailing with it down the river Don, appeared before Azov and took that strong Turkish fortress.

With such views and such ambitions it was impossible for Peter to accept as permanent the actual frontiers of Russia. The open sea was always in his thoughts, and he was shut out from the sea entirely. In the south, without the Turkish power controlled the shores of the harbours Black Sea, in the north access to the Baltic was barred by Poland, and, above all, by Sweden. There were good harbours within a short distance of the Russian frontiers, but they were inaccessible to Russian sailors. Only at Archangel did Russian territory touch the sea, and the Arctic Ocean afforded no channel for the expansion of Russian trade.

To see how Russia reached the Baltic we must turn again to the history of Sweden. We must pass over the romantic reign of Christina, daughter and successor to Charles Gustavus Adolphus. We must pass over the XII. reigns of Charles X and Charles XI, though Charles X expelled the Danes from the southern provinces of Sweden, and Charles XI made of the limited and constitutional monarchy of Sweden an absolutism in which the king was "a sovereign lord, responsible to God alone for his actions." But in 1697 Charles XII succeeded to the throne at the age

of fifteen, and before his death, in 1718, the balance of power among the Baltic states had profoundly altered. The young king grew up daring, ambitious, capable, as great a soldier as Gustavus Adolphus, a very thunderbolt of war, but without the sanity and statesmanship which belonged to Gustavus. But in the Northern War, which threw northern and eastern Europe into confusion, while Western Europe was occupied by the War of Spanish Succession, Charles XII was acting on the defensive. The position of the Swedish territories provoked the jealousy or the greed of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, and the youth of the king and the poverty and scanty population of Sweden made the conquest of Sweden and partition of the Swedish lands seem an easy task. So the three powers united for an attack on Sweden in 1699.

But they were soon aroused from their dream of easy victory by the exploits of their young antagonist. He turned first on Denmark. A great victory brought him up to the walls of Copenhagen, and in the peace that followed he forced Denmark to abandon her allies and pay a war indemnity. He then turned against Russia, and at Narva (in Ingria, close to the gulf of Finland) he destroyed, with an army of 8000 men, a Russian force five times as large. His next blows fell on Poland, whose King Augustus had been the first to suggest the idea of the partition of Swedish territories. A campaign of fabulous victory followed. The Poles were courageous but most undisciplined, and for military or any other purposes without organization. Nor were the people eager to fight for their king. So the Swedish force struck with irresistible might. Numbers had of Poland no effect in checking the advance of Charles Augustus was not only King of Poland, but also Elector of Saxony, but Saxon armies proved as frail as the Polish. Warsaw was taken, and the war might have ended if Charles had not insisted on the deposition of Augustus and the election of his own nominee, Stanislas Leczinski, in his place. But even this had to be conceded in the end. After Saxony had been overrun the King of Poland signed a peace and consented to abdicate (1704). It was Russia's turn now. The Czar,

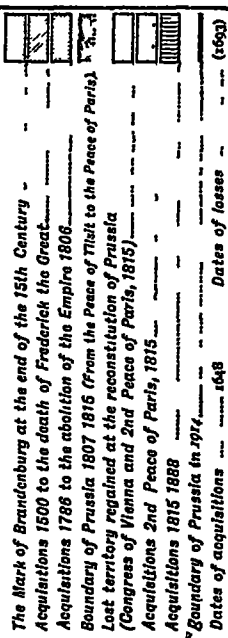
Peter, had overrun the Baltic provinces of Sweden while Charles was in Saxony, but he was unable to hold them, and Charles determined to march on Moscow, and hoped to end the war by its capture. But the task proved beyond his powers. The resistance of the Russians grew fiercer as their own country was invaded. He abandoned the idea of seizing Moscow, and marched south to join hands with Mazeppa, the leader of a revolted band of Cossacks. He still could gain victories, often against overwhelming odds. But the Russian winter fell upon him, and not only carried off many of his men, but broke the spirit of the remainder. At Pultowa, Battle of a fortress lying near the southern frontier of Russia, Pultowa. the Swedes attacked the Russians, who were in vast numbers and strongly entrenched (1709). The Swedish force was defeated and driven to surrender. The king escaped into Turkey. He emerged later to engage in fresh intrigues and fight more battles before he died in an obscure conflict in Norway (1718). Sweden's power as a conquering military state was broken and not destined to revive. Her power of resistance had been strained to the breaking point. "Every Partition artisan, and one out of every two peasants had of Swedish territories been taken for soldiers." A series of treaties was arranged after the death of Charles XII. Western Pomerania went to Prussia, which henceforth became the most powerful Baltic state and the chief rival of Russia. Yet to Russia came the most important of all gains she took from Sweden all the provinces lying round the gulf of Finland. There Peter founded the city of St. Petersburg to be the chief support for the commerce and the navy of Russia, and her chief connection with the west of Europe. In 1721 he was acclaimed as "Father of the Fatherland, Peter the Great, and Emperor of all the Russias." Russia still bears, even after the storm of revolution, clear traces of his influence.

Russia was now a despotically governed and firmly administered state and Peter gave to his successors a tradition of aggressive statesmanship. The surrounding states were either weak like Sweden, or decadent like Turkey, or anarchical like Poland, or formless and vague like the peoples of Central Asia. The amazing

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territorial expansion of Russia which now began is no miraculous phenomenon she has made no important conquests from Western European powers or from well-governed states of any kind We have not space to follow the story of the following reigns The most remarkable of Peter's successors was Catherine II the German wife of Peter III, who, in 1762, gained the throne by the deposition and murder of her husband German though she was, she reproduced the characteristic features of the Russian Monarchy In vice and violence she fell no whit behind the worst of them she was intensely interested in the movement of thought in France and Western Europe, and corresponded with Diderot and Voltaire, but all the time she ruled her dominions without allowing rivalry or partnership, and grasped at territory on every side It was while she reigned that the French Revolution broke out, and we shall trace in another chapter her relations to that movement and the gains she made during its early stages

The best sources for this chapter are Nisbet Bain's *Scandinavia and Slavonic Europe*, Morfill's *Poland*, Rappoport's *Russia*, Wasilewski's *Peter the Great*, Rambaud, *Histoire de la Russie*

CHAPTER XII

Prussia and Austria in the Eighteenth Century

If we look at the map of Europe in 1914 Prussia stretches right across the north of Germany from the Russian frontier to the boundaries of Holland, Belgium, and France The mouths of the chief rivers and the chief harbours are in her hands she has acquired the lower half of the Danish Peninsula such independent states as still remain in North Germany are of little importance It was Prussia which had given unity to Germany, and which controlled the foreign policy of the land English opinion often identified Prussia with Germany, and though this is an

Importance
of Prussia
in modern
Germany

error it is a pardonable one, for Germany, as a state, only exists through the efforts and history of Prussia

The history which has brought about this condition of things is a strange one. Modern Prussia is, at first sight, an artificial state, it consists of many distinct parts, once widely separated and often antagonistic, and only brought together into one whole by the accident of marriage and inheritance, or by the force of diplomacy and war. Yet if we look deeper into the history of Prussia the impression of accident and artificiality disappears. The rise of Prussia has been the new birth of Germany, and Prussia has attained the position she occupies, because she has been the most truly German of the great states of Germany, and has best represented the aspirations of the whole people.

There are three main elements in the growth of Prussia: the Electorate of Brandenburg which is the real origin and heart of the state; the lands of Prussia originally so called, which form the chief of the many additions to the lands of the Elector of Brandenburg, and have given their name to the whole state, and the House of Hohenzollern, whose marriages, diplomacy, conquests, and good fortune have brought the whole into one solid state.

We have already seen something of the rise of Brandenburg. It was, to begin with, a *mark*, or frontier outpost against the Slavonic and other non-German races which dwelt beyond the Elbe. The mark had flourished and expanded under the first or "Ascanian" House, but when this died out, in 1319, there followed a century of confusion in the mark, with frequent changes of masters and of diminution of territory, until in 1415 the Emperor Sigismund conferred the mark and the Electoral dignity, which went along with it, upon Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nurnberg, a close ally of the emperor in all the troublous period of the Council of Constance. There lay before him the difficult task of restoring order in the mark and regaining alienated lands. There was always a tendency in Germany for the great states to be broken up, in

spite of the Provisions of the Golden Bull, which said that the Electorates were to descend in the male line without diminution or division. But in 1473 the perpetual union of Brandenburg was again guaranteed by the *Dispositio Achillea* (or family arrangement of the Elector Albert Achilles). It was laid down that other possessions of the house might be divided to a limited extent, but the whole of Brandenburg must go to the eldest son.

Thus the Hohenzollerns had come to Brandenburg. Prussia as yet had no connection with them. There, in those non-German lands, the Teutonic Knights had been preaching and conquering, and they had no other connection with Brandenburg, except neighbourhood and Christianity. But as we have seen, things had been going badly with the Knights. They had been defeated by the Poles in the great battle of Tannenberg. A part of their territory (West Prussia) had been annexed by Poland, over the rest they had to recognize the feudal superiority of the King of Poland. Their position had become precarious, and they needed a foreign protector. So in 1511 they chose as their chief (or Grand Master) Albert of Hohenzollern, a near relative of the family that ruled in Brandenburg. When the Reformation came, Albert saw that if he declared himself a Protestant the territories of the Knights would become a secular state under his rule, which he might hand down to his descendants. The step was taken, and thus a branch of the Hohenzollern house ruled in Prussia. In 1611 the family of Albert became extinct, and Prussia thus became part of the dominions of Joachim Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg. But Prussia was still a feudal dependency of Poland and Polish territory intervened between Prussia and Brandenburg. Just about the same time another inheritance (and one nearly as important) fell to the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg as the result of marriage and inheritance. When in 1609 the Duke of Julich, Cleves and Berg died, there was fierce dispute as to the inheritance. One of the claimants was the Elector of Brandenburg, who had married the niece of the duke. The contest ended in the occupation of the larger

Albert of
Hohen-
zollern,
chosen
Grand
Master,
1511

Union of
Branden-
burg and
Prussia,
1611.

part of the duchy by Brandenburg The lands were valuable in themselves, and they became the nucleus round which

Acquisition of Julich, Cleves and Berg, 1609 were gathered in course of time other possessions Thus the Electors of Brandenburg governed, by different titles, three chief blocks of territories, widely separated from one another These were

(1) the possessions on the Rhine, (2) the Electorate of Brandenburg, (3) the Duchy of Prussia A mighty and coherent state, destined to carry the principles of unification and organization further than elsewhere in Europe, seemed little likely to grow out of these elements

Brandenburg played a poor part during the Thirty Years' War The Elector, George William, was Calvinist, while his

people were Lutheran He tried to remain neutral, but his lands were overrun by both parties, and no part of Germany suffered more grievously in that terrible period In 1640 he was succeeded by Frederick William, the Great Elector as he is called,

and one of the real founders of the greatness of modern Prussia

He was a type which has been frequently seen on the Prussian

The Great throne, strong, inflexible, and even despotic in character, unattractive and unimaginative, but

devoted to the interests of the state and sparing neither of himself nor others in its service Brandenburg made important

gains at the Peace of Westphalia Magdeburg became hers

and Eastern Pomerania, the last of great value, because it

opened up ready access to the sea But it was after the peace

that the elector's most fruitful activity began The chief

characteristic of all his work is unification, but he also con-

tributed to the advance of the commercial prosperity of

Prussia, and raised her armies from the disrepute into which

they had fallen during the Thirty Years' War

The road to the unity of the state lay through the destruction of representative institutions in every part of the state

There were flourishing "Estates" in Brandenburg,

Prussia, and Cleves, but in each place they were

suppressed They struggled against their fate and

found capable and devoted leaders, but in vain

The will of the head of the state was henceforth to be the one

source of authority, and the administration was to be conducted through his council. Wide differences in institutions were still left, but the first important step towards unification had been taken, and it is noteworthy that it lay through the destruction of free institutions.

The Great Elector was concerned in many wars, and often changed sides, but the most fruitful of glory and gain were those which were fought against Poland. In Military alliance with the Swedish king he gained a great success of victory at Warsaw, but the chief result was that the Great Elector in 1657 he induced the Polish king to abandon his feudal overlordship over Prussia, and to recognize him as king there, *cum summa atque absoluta potestate*. In 1675 came his greatest feat of arms. He was fighting against the Swedes, who were in alliance with the King of France, they invaded Brandenburg, but were decisively beaten by Frederick William at Fehrbellin. It was for this victory that he received the title of the Great Elector.

He built canals, and he attempted to foster the industries of the state by means of a protective tariff. The chief measure, however, which he took for the promotion of Promotion industry was in 1685, when he granted to the of industry French Huguenots, who had been expelled by the short-sighted despotism of Louis XIV, a refuge in Berlin. It is to their settlement that Berlin owes the beginning of her greatness. The immigrants were allowed wide privileges, and in agriculture as well as in industry, contributed to the wealth of the country.

Frederick William was succeeded in 1688 by his son, Frederick III, a man in every way unlike himself, absurdly fond of the pomps and ceremonies of his position, King Fred- and without much practical instinct for the adminis- erick I of tration of the state. Yet his reign is noteworthy, Prussia because Frederick III, the Elector of Brandenburg, became Frederick I, King of Prussia. Three of the German princes had already got royal titles, the Elector of Hanover was King of England, the Elector of Saxony was King of Poland, the Duke of Holstein was King of Denmark. The Elector of Brandenburg might naturally claim the same title. The negotiations which led to the War of the Spanish Succession made the alliance of

Brandenburg valuable to the Emperor, first as a means of resisting the partition treaty projected by the Kings of France and England, then as a weapon against the efforts of Louis XIV to gain for his grandson, Philip, all the dominions of Spain. So the sanction of the Emperor, Leopold I, was obtained, with the proviso that the title must not be taken from any part of the territory of the empire. Prussia was outside of the empire, and thus, somewhat to the confusion of the student of history, the leading German power took its title from lands which had not originally been German at all. The new step was not merely one of etiquette and precedence: the royal title gave further strength to the government in its efforts to establish absolutism. We shall not follow the history of Prussia during the War of the Spanish Succession, and the contemporary Northern War, which saw the triumph and the catastrophe of Charles XII of Sweden. But the soldiers of Prussia at Blenheim and elsewhere more than maintained the reputation they had won at Warsaw and Fehrbellin.

In 1713 Frederick William I succeeded to the throne of his father. No European throne had ever a stranger occupant. Frederick He inherited many of the qualities of the Great William I. Elector, but in him they were exaggerated, brutalized, and touched almost with madness. He despised his father's fondness for pomp and ceremony, especially on grounds of economy, and on his accession he at once dismissed many of the ministers of royal luxury whom his father had appointed. He turned then with undivided zeal to the vigorous, economic, and, on the whole, the efficient administration of all parts of his dominions. There was to be no room for liberty or representative government in Prussia, no interference, and hardly any criticism of the royal actions would be allowed. "We remain King and Master," he wrote "and we do what we like." The state was to be administered by royal officials, poorly paid, strictly watched, and, in case of any offence, severely punished. The king showed some interest in education, a point on which few Prussian rulers have been indifferent, and he took a keen interest in theological disputes. But he was in everything Prussian in the narrowest sense of the word. Ancient history

and the history of other countries could teach nothing of value, he said it was the history of Brandenburg alone that was important. And in Brandenburg or Prussia two things attracted all his attention—the payment of the His taxes and the organization of the army. His lands economy were poor in comparison with those of the older European states and he was bent on making them produce all that they could and in extracting from the produce the largest possible share for the service of the state. His fiercest rage was reserved for corruption in the finances.

He maintained peace during the whole of his reign (with unimportant interruptions), but he built up the Prussian army to what seemed a monstrous size, and maintained it in the highest efficiency. On his accession in 1713 there was an army of 38,000 men. In 1739 it numbered more than 83,000. France had 160,000 soldiers. Austria barely 100,000. And the Prussian army was even more remarkable for efficiency than for size. Doubtless the king would have shown no great talents as a general if there had been a call for them, but he was an ideal drill sergeant, and his force was weaponed, clothed, and disciplined to perfection. The touch of grotesqueness, which is never absent from anything that he did, was seen in his regiment of giant grenadiers, whom he loved as a dog-fancier loves his pets, and for whom he ransacked his own lands and the lands of his neighbours.

His domestic life was of European importance, because his son was Frederick the Great. Between father and son there were bitter quarrels from an early date. The Father and father was tyrannical, unpolished, and illiterate, son and in his manners incredibly coarse. His son seemed to cross his father's will at every point. He was cosmopolitan in his interests and tastes, rather French than German, apparently uninterested in Prussia, an amateur of the fine arts, and a sceptic in matters of religion. The young Frederick displayed a hearty distaste for the drinking, gluttony, and smoking that were so dear to his father. Life at court became intolerable to him, and he attempted flight. He was caught, brought back, and condemned to death. His life was in the end spared, but

his friend was executed, and brutal punishments fell on other men, in some instances without trial, in all without justice

Youth of Frederick the Great. The young prince bowed to necessity, professed with a bitter heart the religious opinions that his father dictated to him, flung himself with genuine enthusiasm into the tedious work of administration, and took, at his father's bidding, a wife whom he neither loved nor liked. His intellect and will were too strong to break, but when he mounted the throne in 1740 his early idealism and humanity had quite gone, he was cynical and bitter, and believed in nothing but force.

The date of the accession of Frederick II is that also of the death of the Emperor, Charles VI, whereby a new chapter was opened in the history of the House of Austria, in which Frederick was destined to play a great part. The Austrian House had seen its projects defeated in the Thirty Years' War, but since then it had gained much in territory and apparent power, but all its gains were in non-German lands, and the future was to show that it was thereby losing all chance of becoming the real head of Germany.

Death of Charles VI, Emperor The Roman Catholic reaction had triumphed through all its territories, education was at a very low ebb, science, literature, and art made no progress on Austrian soil. But the arms of Austria were, on the whole, victorious in the War of Spanish Succession, and against the Turkish enemy on the south-east she gained a long series of victories. The Turkish power at sea had been decisively checked in the Battle of Lepanto (1571), but its prestige on land was nearly undiminished. The year 1683 seemed likely to mark a great increase of its power, but turned out to mark the beginning of its decline. The Turkish army reached Vienna and laid siege to it. The Emperor, Leopold I, fled, and the fall of the city seemed certain. It was saved by the march of John Sobieski, King of Poland, and the Turkish retreat was turned into a rout. In 1687 the Turks were decisively beaten on the field of Mohacz, where they had gained the great victory in 1526 whereby they had won Hungary. Their power and territory sank henceforward with

Austrian victories over the Turks

Vienna.

Mohacz

Hungary

every decade In 1699 the Sultan made a peace by which he evacuated all Hungary hitherto, though the head of the Hapsburgs had called himself King of Hungary, it was only a strip to the west and north over which he actually ruled At the same period the royal power made headway both in Hungary and Bohemia against the power of the feudal aristocracy and the sentiment of national independence The crown of Hungary had hitherto been in theory elective, but in 1687 the hereditary right of the Austrian House to the throne was recognized There was resistance still, but the free elements of the Hungarian constitution were undermined

Charles VI succeeded to the Imperial throne in 1711 He had no son The chief aim of his life was to secure the rule over all Hapsburg territories for his daughter, Charles Maria Theresa, and the Imperial title for her VI and husband, Francis of Lorraine He drew up a Maria Theresa, Pragmatic Sanction—a recognition of the claims of his daughter—and procured its signature by the different parts of his dominion, and by nearly all the powers of Europe His great soldier, Prince Eugene, warned him that an efficient army would be of more value than a treaty, but before he died he believed that he had secured the great inheritance to his daughter

On the death of Charles VI (1740) it was seen at once how valueless the paper guarantee would be Frederick of Prussia invaded Silesia, the rich province lying on the upper Frederick Oder He could work up some fair claim to part invade of the province, but he has himself confessed in Silesia his memoirs that the wealth of the province and his own ambition were the causes of his action His father's carefully prepared army proved itself efficient in spite of its want of experience, and Silesia was soon in the hands of Prussia

A great European war speedily developed, and the famous Pragmatic Sanction did not influence the action of a single power France joined with Prussia, Great Britain The War throughout the century was to be found in opposi- of Austrian tion to France, and she helped Maria Theresa with Succession money Prussia and France agreed to support the claims of Charles, the Elector of Bavaria, to the Imperial title The war

lasted until 1748, and was not confined to Europe. Great Britain's interests in the war were chiefly colonial and commercial, and French and English soldiers fought in North America and in India, in a quarrel which had its ostensible cause in Vienna.

The war was full of great battles, but no attempt will be made to trace the course of the campaigns. Things went at Maria first very hardly with Maria Theresa. Her troops Theresa and were beaten in Silesia, and Bohemia was penetrated Hungary by a Bavarian and French force. In her extremity she turned to Hungary, which had so often fought against her ancestors, and still claimed its old constitutional liberties. She restored many of its privileges and promised to respect the independence of its Diet, and the Magyars (for that is the proper name of the Hungarians) were seized with an enthusiasm for the beautiful queen, who appeared before them with her child upon her arm. "We will die for our king, Maria Theresa," they exclaimed, and their actions justified their words. A great Hungarian army poured westward, and the wild troops quickly turned the scales in Bohemia in favour of Austria. The French army escaped with difficulty back to France. The English helped the queen chiefly with money, but they created a diversion by taking an army to the Netherlands and the Rhine. At Dettingen they escaped from apparently certain disaster by a fine exploit, but in 1745 they were heavily defeated at Fontenoy, and the next year the armies of France completely overran the Low Countries. Frederick retained Silesia in spite of all efforts to dispossess him. So in 1748 came the Peace of Aix la Chapelle. Frederick kept his conquests, but French diplomacy was not able to hold what French armies had won. All the conquests of France were surrendered.

The peace was felt to be little more than a breathing space. Maria Theresa had not made up her mind to abandon Silesia, and the colonial questions at issue between England and France were by no means settled. But before war came again the alliances were strangely changed, and what is known as the Diplomatic Revolution occurred.

France and the Austrian House had been at almost constant

enmity since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Their opposition had been regarded as the permanent feature in the European situation, and around these great antagonists the other European powers had grouped themselves. The hostility between Great Britain and France was not of such long standing, nor did it attract so much of the attention of the diplomatists. Now France and Austria joined together, and Great Britain thereupon passed over to alliance with Frederick of Prussia. The movement emanated from Austria, and it was Maria Theresa's minister, Kaunitz, who persuaded her of the necessity of the French alliance. It would probably have been wise and feasible for France to have remained outside the coming struggle altogether, but the court of Louis XV. was without wise advisers and largely under the influence of the king's mistress, Madame de Pompadour. France embraced the Austrian proposals, and war soon came, partly through the tension between Austria and Prussia, and partly through the conflicts of Great Britain and France in India and Canada.

We shall not attempt to trace the colonial struggle which led to the definite victory of Great Britain in Canada and India. In Europe the outlook was exceedingly black for Frederick of Prussia. He had to face the Austrian armies, which were much improved since the last war, and he was threatened in the west by the French, who had gained in the last war many triumphs. Before long, to these enemies were added the armies of Russia for Maria Theresa, after much negotiation, succeeded in winning the alliance of the Czarina, Elizabeth. The diplomatic struggle had gone wholly against Frederick, for, against these three great and dangerous opponents he had no serious ally except Great Britain, and her strength lay in her navy and her wealth.

In this war, which is known as the Seven Years' War, Prussia passed through experiences as terrible as those which had befallen her in the Thirty Years' War. Her armies, after achieving brilliant victories at first, were beaten both by the Austrians and Russians. Berlin fell into the hands of the enemy. Frederick for a time meditated

suicide Prussia seemed likely to disappear amidst ruin and defeat That in spite of all she emerged from the war without loss of territory, and with vastly increased influence and prestige, was due to various causes

Frederick showed military qualities which place him among the greatest soldiers of all time He showed himself a Rosbach master of both campaigns and battles In 1757 and he defeated the French army at Rosbach, and not Leuthen only defeated but humiliated it by the ease with which he gained the victory, and the obvious superiority of the Prussian troops In the same year he gained a great victory at Leuthen, and revolutionised by his novel attack the methods of war The British alliance, too, proved unexpectedly valuable to him Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, controlled the policy of England, and he decided to send over troops in large numbers to the Continent, thus distracting the efforts of the French from Canadian and Indian affairs, and "winning Canada," as he said, "on the plains of Germany" Pitt, Frederick recognized with gratitude the services Prime Minister in which Pitt had rendered him The utter rottenness of the French Monarchy counts for much in the explanation of Frederick's escape for France no longer seemed to produce either statesmen or soldiers Yet in 1761 it seemed that all Frederick's military skill and all his unsurpassed courage and hopeful endurance could not save him He had been heavily beaten in 1759 by the Russians, in the great Battle of Kunersdorf, Russians and Austrians The ex- Frederick had entered Berlin in 1760, they occupied Prussian territory throughout 1761 The splendid troops with which Frederick had begun the war had, for the most part, disappeared his finances were exhausted Perhaps, worst of all, in 1761, the policy of the young king George III in England led to the resignation of Pitt, and the accession to power of ministers pledged to withdrawal from the continental war The ruin of Prussia seemed at hand But then Frederick was saved by the death of the Czarina Elizabeth, a determined and personal enemy It was much, Accession of Czar Peter III to be rid of her But her place was taken by her nephew, Peter III, whose weak mind had conceived a

passionate admiration for the Prussian King, whom he spoke of as "the king, my master" Russia made at once an alliance with Frederick, and the whole face of the war changed Four months later Peter III was overthrown and put to death by his German wife, who reigned henceforth as Catherine II She withdrew at once from the Prussian alliance, but Frederick and Prussia were saved Europe was exhausted by the struggle, and in 1763 the Peace of Paris brought it to an end Frederick retained Silesia Prussia was the "wonder of Europe" Frederick's system of government and of war was the admiration of his neighbours, and even those who had suffered most severely at his hands began to imitate him

The eighteenth century has been called the Age of the Enlightened Despot In various countries great changes of a beneficent kind were carried out by the concentration of all power in the hands of a well-intentioned ruler Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Austria afford examples of this, but Prussia is the great example The monarchy of Frederick was the very antithesis of that of Louis XIV There was little pomp or ceremonial The king was the hardest worked servant of the State He took on himself heavy duties and he placed heavy duties on his subordinates and subjects The welfare of the State was the one object that all must set before them, and to the king this took the place of religion After the Peace of Paris, Frederick never engaged again in any serious war The State had almost to be built again from the foundations, so great had been the ravages of war Agriculture and commerce were supervised and stimulated by the State, and before the end of his reign the beneficent effects of his policy were apparent He had been in his youth a pupil of the philosophers of France, and in the abolition of torture and the establishment of complete religious toleration he showed himself throughout faithful to their lessons

He reigned until 1786, and in 1772 he gained for Prussia a great and valuable territory For in that year came the first partition of Poland Poland lay helpless between the three great powers Prussia, Russia, and Austria Her

people were divided into factions, her peasantry sunk into a degrading serfdom, her constitution unworkable, her king the favourite of the Russian Czarina. It seemed, First in 1772, that the outbreak of a great war in partition of Poland Eastern Europe threatened. It was on Frederick's suggestion that the three great powers agreed to forget their quarrels and their rival claims on the Turkish frontier, and to seize instead each a slice of unresisting Poland. Maria Theresa shrank at first from sharing in an act as unjustifiable as Frederick's seizure of Silesia, but in the end she joined with the others. To Russia fell the greatest extent of territory, and to Prussia the most valuable part, for she laid hands on Western Prussia, and thus her Prussian lands were made continuous with Brandenburg. The state gained thereby immensely in strength and unity.

Maria Theresa died in 1780. She is a great figure in European history, and a noble one. The House of Hapsburg Maria has not produced any ruler who appeals so much Theresa to the sympathy and admiration of posterity as this woman—beautiful, religious, patriotic, determined, and in the end not unsuccessful. Her husband had held the Imperial title until his death in 1765. Then her son Joseph II had succeeded in the empire, and now, in 1780, he ruled over all the Hapsburg lands.

Joseph II regarded Frederick of Prussia with a strange mixture of hate and admiration. He saw in him the worst enemy of his house, but also he regarded him as of Austria the ideal of a modern ruler. No sooner was he safely established in power than he began to inaugurate reforms in imitation of the Prussian King. The unification of the State and the unchecked power of the Crown these were his ideals. Religious toleration was to remove one great cause of division; the German language was to be used everywhere as the official tongue, the whole of his dominions were to be divided into administrative districts, equitably governed without reference to the privileges of race or class. He desired, in fact, to transform the multifarious possessions of the House of Hapsburg, with all their differences of religion, race, language, and

character, into a single modern state after the fashion set by Frederick in Prussia. He had not calculated the difference between the territories of Frederick and his own. Prussia was divided, indeed, in many ways, but the inhabitants were nearly all German and Protestant, while Austria was a collection of states hostile to one another by the traditions of five hundred years, and in some instances still in the early feudal and mediæval stage. The chief divisions into which his territories fell were the following: (1) Austria proper, the original possessions of the House of Hapsburg, German and Catholic for the most part; (2) Hungary, including Transylvania, consisting for the most part of Magyars, proud of their nationality, feudal in its institutions to which it adhered tenaciously; (3) Bohemia, and Moravia, Czech and to a large extent Protestant, their sense of national existence beginning to revive; (4) The Italian possessions, united by religion with Austria, but quite alien in character, language, and aspirations; (5) The Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) acquired by the Treaty of Utrecht, Catholic, but alien in language and character, in both which respects they were attracted rather to France than to Austria. This is not by any means a complete list, but it is enough to show how difficult was the task which Joseph II had set before him, how hard it would be to reduce these different states to unity on the basis of common administration with German as the official language. His insistence on religious toleration, and his opening of education to laymen, which are among the best of his proposed reforms, were those which roused most hostility. His reign, full of noble effort, ended in gloom. There were protests against his schemes in Bohemia and Hungary, while in Belgium the people rose in revolution for the maintenance of the privileges of the Catholic Church. His foreign designs succeeded no better, and the failure of his plans hastened his death. He bequeathed to his brother, Leopold II, a difficult task. His aim was to conciliate the many elements in his dominions which had been exasperated by Joseph II, and before this task was accomplished, he had

Contrast
between
Prussia and
Austria.

Failure of
Joseph II's
plans

to face the diplomatic difficulties arising out of the French Revolution

The English books dealing with this chapter are many and good. Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, Tuttle's *Prussia and Frederick*, Reddaway's *Frederick the Great*, Coxe's *House of Austria*, Macaulay's *Essay on Frederick*.

CHAPTER XIII

The Decline of France and the End of the Ancient Regime

WE have always to be on our guard against reading a period of history in the light of what we know happened afterwards. The coming of the French Revolution is for Europe and for France the great event of the end of the eighteenth century, and there is a tendency, therefore, to see in all that happened after the death of Louis XIV merely the signs of the ruin which was impending over the old monarchy. The seeds of the Revolution were unquestionably being laid then, but the Government of France was in many respects successful, and no one foresaw a revolution of the kind that actually occurred.

The efforts of Louis XIV. to rule France from his grave failed entirely. All the arrangements that he had made in his will were thrown to the winds, and the Duke of Orleans governed as regent for Louis XV with all the powers that traditionally belonged to the office. France was weary of Louis XIV's ideas, which had ended in such great failure, and the regency saw a period of reaction at almost every point. It was the finances of France which claimed the most immediate attention. The reforms of Colbert had been quite swept away by the long wars of the reign, and especially by the exhaustion of the War of the Spanish Succession. France found herself face to face with an immense and constantly increasing debt, which the poverty of the people seemed unable to bear. There came

forward at this juncture a Scotch adventurer, John Law by name, who proposed to the Regent a scheme by means of which the debt of France was to be paid off and the deficit Law's converted into a large annual profit Political schemes economy and accurate thought of any sort on financial matters were only just beginning, and Law was by no means a mere impostor, as he has been sometimes represented, though his scheme ended in utter collapse Briefly, he proposed to issue paper money to an immense extent upon the credit of the vast possessions of France in Northern America, which were under the control of the Company of the West He did not think that it was necessary actually to have gold and silver with which to pay the notes that were issued He believed that the financial life of a country rested on its credit, and the Northern Continent of America over most of which France held a claim, seemed capable of supplying credit for any possible issue of notes The whole scheme was a complicated and difficult one It is thought that Law might have achieved a large measure of success, if gambling—to an extent then quite unexampled—had not begun in the shares of Failure the Company of the West, which controlled the of Law American territories upon which Law relied for the success of his scheme In the end, Law, after seeming arbiter of the finances of Europe for a time, had to retire into exile, and France had still to face the financial difficulty, and to endeavour to meet it by less questionable methods In 1723 the regent died, and after a short interval Louis XV nominally assumed the reins of power, but his youth prevented his actually controlling the State for some time, and the chief minister of France was his old tutor, Cardinal Fleury.

Cardinal Fleury was in many respects a remarkable man, and hardly any one in the history of Europe has exercised such power at so advanced an age He died, still in possession of the chief authority in France, Fleury while France was reckoned the leading country in Europe, at the age of ninety years He pursued a pacific policy, and looked especially to England for alliance and support Between Fleury and Walpole there was an understanding which was highly beneficial to the peace of Europe and the prosperity

of both countries His administration was a time of recovery and of peace, but before the end there came a serious though short war, and we must look to that for a moment

The king had been married for political reasons to Maria Leczinska, the daughter of Stanislas, the exiled King of Poland

The War of the Polish Succession Now there was a vacancy again in the Polish succession, and the father of the French queen was once again a candidate, and a candidate who had the goodwill of a vast majority of the Polish people

The Polish throne was nominally elective, and if the election had been freely conducted, there would have been no doubt about the result, but Polish affairs, in the weakness and decrepitude of that miserable state, were coming more and more to be the concern of her neighbours, and the question of the Polish succession involved the chief European powers in war France, Spain, and Sardinia were prepared to support in arms the claims of Stanislas, while Russia and Austria supported the rival candidate, Augustus of Saxony We must not follow any of the military details French arms gained an important victory in Italy, but then suddenly peace negotiations were opened, and the war came to an end

Peace of Vienna By the Peace of Vienna which followed (1738) some important alterations were made in the frontiers of Europe Lorraine was now promised to France in full sovereignty It was the last gain of the French monarchy upon the continent of Europe before the storm of the Revolution broke Spain gained possession of Naples and Sicily

France and her allies did not succeed in securing the throne for Stanislas, and he had to be contented with the possession of the Duchy of Lorraine This was Fleury's last important exploit He lived for several years yet, but his declining powers were not equal to the control of the great diplomatic movements which preceded the outbreak of the War of Austrian Succession

The story of that war and of the Seven Years' War which succeeded it has been told in the last chapter, and it is characteristic of the changed position of France in Europe, that it is possible to tell the story of wars, in which the destiny of France was deeply involved, from the point of view of Berlin and

Vienna rather than of Paris France lost her position as the central and controlling power of Europe Not only was she defeated as Louis XIV had been, but she lost also her diplomatic prestige which he had never done Yet we must not exaggerate the extent of the military humiliation of France during those wars In the first war, indeed, there was no humiliation at all The French troops defeated the English in the two great battles of Fontenoy and Lawfeldt, and they overran and conquered the Netherlands, a feat which Louis XIV had often tried, but in which he had never succeeded The second war, the Seven Years' War, opened with some brilliant French successes, but then the fortune of war changed, and there came upon France, not merely defeat, but disgrace and ruin as well The causes of these humiliations are to be found partly in the fact that France was fighting against two of the most powerful military leaders that Europe has ever known, the Earl of Chatham, the English Prime Minister, and Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, but partly also they are to be traced without question to the wretched character of the king and of his court, and of most of his ministers There was a time when Louis XV was thought to be possessed of military ardour and skill but that soon passed, and for the greater part of his reign he lived a life of vile private immorality, not ceasing to claim the control of the foreign affairs of France, but showing in his policy neither patriotism nor diplomatic skill He distrusted his ministers, and often intrigued behind their backs, and the chief influence upon his policy was not that of any of the great servants of the Crown, but rather that of the women who in succession held the position of mistress at court The chief of these are Madame de Pompadour for the first part of the reign, and Madame du Barri for the latter part The great change in alliances, sometimes known as "the Diplomatic Revolution," which took place between the Austrian Succession War and the Seven Years' War, wherein France passed from the alliance of Prussia to the alliance of Austria, was not, indeed, altogether due to Madame Pompadour or her vanity, as has sometimes

Changed position of France in Europe.

Character of Louis XV and his Court.

Madame de Pompadour

been alleged, but was certainly influenced and promoted by her. The decline of France is justly traced in part to the influence of this woman, who had some good private qualities, but whose influence upon public affairs was altogether for evil

One result of these wars—though not one upon which European diplomacy fixed its eyes with any great interest—was

the loss to France of India and of Canada. In both countries her policy had been for a time successful, and had been conducted by men of eminent ability. It was Duplex who, by skilfully engaging

in the quarrels among the Indian princes, by throwing the strength of France now on one side and now on the other, and by training Indian troops in European methods, increased the

possessions of France in India, and showed also to his English rivals the means whereby, without actual declaration of war, they subsequently made themselves masters of the vast peninsula. In Canada the French pos-

sessions were large, and, on the whole, well-governed. The French had in Montcalm a soldier and statesman of the highest worth, and "possessing, as they did, not only territories in

the north but also in the south of the continent, where New Orleans and the lower valley of the

Mississippi were in their hands, it seemed not impossible that the future of North America might lie with them rather than with the English. The first war, so far as Indian

and Colonial affairs were concerned, was a drawn battle, but it was clear that the end had not been reached. It was Indian

and American interests which drew England into the second war, and, in that, victory came swiftly and decisively to the side of the island state. When the Peace of Paris was signed

in 1763 the flag of France had ceased to fly in Canada, and it flew in India only over small possessions and by permission of the dominant English power

It will be better instead of giving any incidents in this well-known struggle to consider the causes which led to so

disastrous a result for France. Some weight must be attached to the refusal of France to give to her representatives in distant lands a free hand

in Canada especially the enterprise of the colonists was

checked by the interference of the Home Government More weight must be attached to the fact that while England was fighting on the Continent with limited responsibility, and could withdraw from it at any time behind the security of the surrounding seas, France, on the other hand, was engaged there in a war which demanded all her energies, and in itself overstrained her resources We have seen that the Spanish colonial power owed its wreck largely to the continental complications of Spain, and it is true also that it was the ambitions and the contests of France in Europe which prevented her colonial enterprise from striking a deep root and bearing permanent results If we look to the contests themselves we shall find that the result was decided by naval supremacy There were not, indeed, during the Seven Years' War, any encounters of importance between the navies of England and France in distant waters, but none the less, campaigns in both India and Canada were controlled by the failure of France to send out reinforcements or to maintain constant intercourse with her representatives France was not immediately conscious that she had lost so vast a prize, but she was conscious of her defeats and humiliations in Europe The rise of the absolute monarchy in France had been due largely to the services which it rendered and the victories which it won in war, and the military failure of the government of Louis XV destroyed the popularity of the government and undermined the loyalty of the people Napoleon is reported to have said that the battle of Rossbach (the battle in which the French were so hopelessly defeated by Frederick) was the cause of the French Revolution, and there is much truth in the view that is implied by that saying

The end of Louis XV's reign saw foreign events which must be briefly noted There came upon Poland in 1772 what is known as the First Partition, the seizure that is to say, of outlying provinces by Prussia, Austria, and Russia France tried to interfere, but in vain, and her failure marks again the decline of her prestige Just before

the end of the reign, however, there came a notable acquisition. The island of Corsica had long been in insurrection against the rule of Genoa. The struggle was ended by the cession of the island to France. The resistance of the islanders was beaten down, and the government of France thus gained a position which would be of the greatest value to France as a naval base in the Mediterranean.

We turn now to the domestic history of the reign, and we see there how opposition to the monarchy was rising up, and the forces were being accumulated which produced the great outbreak of the Revolution a quarter of a century later. It was a sign of the weakness and the unpopularity of the government that men and institutions who would not have dared to express their opposition against the government of Louis XIV, persisted in their attacks upon Louis XV and in several instances won their point against the Crown itself.

We have already noted the rise of the religious movement known as Jansenism, and we have seen that its supporters had been crushed by the combined action of the papacy and the Crown of France, but the Jansenists still existed, and their opposition to religious and political authority was not lessened by the injustice from which they had suffered. They found a champion in the Parlement of Paris, which was primarily, as we have already seen, a Court of Justice, but acted also generally as a guardian of the laws of France. This power it had used in past ages mainly to draw away cases from the authority of the feudal courts and to bring them within the power of the king's courts, but it now used its functions to resist the royal authority in matters ecclesiastical. For the Jansenists were being subjected to an odious and irritating oppression. The last consolations of the Church were refused to any one suspected of Jansenism. The Parlement declared that this was an attack upon the laws of France, and again and again interfered on behalf of the Jansenists. The people of Paris applauded the boldness with which the government was attacked, and in many instances Parlement secured its aim.

But there was little life in Jansenism, and the Parlement shortly turned from the defence of this body to an attack upon the greatest of all religious corporations within the Roman Catholic Church, the Jesuits. ^{Attack upon the Jesuits}

We have now seen how the Jesuits had been the chief agency of Rome in turning back the tide of Protestant success. Since the end of the era of the religious wars and the Peace of Westphalia, they had turned to other enterprises, and had been singularly successful in their conduct of foreign missions. In France they were unpopular because they had identified themselves closely with the royal authority, and were believed to have inspired some of its worst acts of religious oppression. Their position seemed strong and unchallenged, when a storm arose from an unexpected quarter. The manager of a Jesuit mission in the West Indies had become insolvent owing to the depredations of English vessels during the war. His creditors claimed that the whole society was answerable for his debts, and the matter was brought before the Parlement. Parlement had long regarded the Jesuits with hostility, and eagerly seized upon this opportunity to inquire into the whole organization of the Jesuit order. In vain the king tried to take the matter out of the hands of the Parlement and bring it before a tribunal of his own choosing. The Parlement went on in spite of all, and soon declared that the Jesuit order, as then constituted, was inadmissible in France, because its members swore an absolute allegiance to their general, who might be a foreigner, and had rarely, if ever, been a Frenchman. The international character of the Jesuit order had been one of the chief sources of its power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it was now the cause or the excuse of the attack that was made upon it. Proposals were made for a compromise. It was suggested that the Jesuits of France should choose for themselves a chief who should always be a Frenchman, but the idea of concession or conciliation was rejected. "They must be as they are," was the answer, "or they must cease to be," and Louis XV, though he would have liked to save them, yielded to the pressure that was put upon him, and in 1764 the order was ^{Suppression of the Jesuit order in France}

declared suppressed in France. The attack upon the order in France was by no means an isolated incident. In all Catholic countries about this time, and especially in Portugal and in Spain, the Jesuits were the subject of inquiry and attack. The general movement against them was part of the intellectual current of the time which we shall shortly examine, and it was distinguished by nothing more clearly than by its opposition to the authority and coercive power of the Roman Catholic Church. After the Jesuits had been expelled from Portugal and Spain, and from several of the Italian states as well as from France, great pressure was put upon the papacy to recognize the suppression and to abolish the whole order. At last, in 1773, Pope Clement XIV was constrained to yield. "It is my own right hand," he is reported to have said, "that I am cutting off, but it has sinned." The Jesuit order was, therefore, abolished, but the abolition did not last very long. The order was too valuable a weapon of the Church to be thus sacrificed, and it was soon restored and became again, what it has continued to be, the chief agency and influence within the Catholic Church.

Parlement thus gained a notable victory, and soon it was quarrelling with the king once more, this time on the question of the various edicts of taxation which were sent down to it for registration during the last years of the reign. The opposition of the Parlement had become a constant annoyance, and was probably a real check to good government as well as bad. The king's anger was stimulated by his mistress, Du Barri. She compared the action of the French Parlement to that of the English Parliament in the seventeenth century; she pointed to a portrait of the English Charles I, and said to the king, "Your Parlement also will cut off your head." The king in the end determined to have recourse to vigorous measures. The members of the Parlement were arrested and exiled, their courts were declared to be for ever abolished, and their place as the highest court of justice in France was taken by new royal courts, which would never have the old powers of

Decline of France and End of Ancient Regime 653

interference in public affairs which had been possessed by the Parlement (1771)

Louis XV died in 1774. Few kings, if any, have ruled in Europe with such evil consequences to the State that was committed to them. He was not by nature Death and cruel, nor did he desire to strike a blow at the influence prosperity or progress of France, but he was of Louis XV. centred in himself and in his own pleasures. He was mastered by idleness and self-indulgence, he made no effort to see beyond the immediate future. He had some suspicion that the present system would not last long, it was enough for him that it would last his life time. "After me, the deluge," he is reported to have said, and the deluge was not long in coming after his death.

Here, before we proceed with the narrative of events in France, it will be well to survey the condition of the country upon the eve of this deluge of which Louis XV spoke. A great number of books have been written about what is known as the ancient *regime*, but we must confine our survey to a few pages. Characteristics of the Ancient Regime.

What we find in France is by no means a solitary or unexampled condition of things. In most countries of Western Europe there was something like it, and there were several countries in which the same general abuses were found with greater intensity and oppressiveness. The peasant of Poland or of Spain, or of some states of South Germany, if he had been transported to France, would have found there social conditions better than his own, and liberty far greater than he was accustomed to. It is not the intensity of the suffering of the French people which by itself produced the Revolution, but other causes which we shall have shortly to consider.

The Government of France was an absolutism. It was reckoned the most absolute government to be found in Europe, with the exception of Turkey. It owed its strength to the fact that it had at one time represented the people and served the needs of France better than the aristocracy or any elected assembly could do. Its absolutism remained, but its social and national service had almost ceased. The people no longer

regarded it as the champion of their cause, it was closely linked with the aristocracy which was historically its greatest enemy. It had triumphed over the feudal nobility, its opponents overthrown. It had destroyed or it had controlled all the representative institutions which France had at one time possessed. The *Stâtes-Generals* had ceased to exist, the provincial estates were destroyed either in name or in fact, municipal institutions had been brought under the control of the central government, Protestantism and Jansenism had been coerced, the Catholic Church, by the Concordat of 1516, had been turned into the instrument of royal policy. An absolute government is not only the most efficient for certain purposes when strong, but it is also the most unstable when it is weak, and the French monarchy had come into this condition of weakness. There were its instability signs of the coming change in the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV, but the development had gone on rapidly during the reign of Louis XV. His government had shown neither patriotism, nor a careful choice of instruments, neither efficiency, nor success. The State was thus dominated by a single institution, and that institution was corrupt and tottering.

While the political condition of France was, before all things, unstable, her social condition was antiquated, irrational, and oppressive. The social condition of France before the Revolution is sometimes described as feudalism, but this is a mistake. Feudalism, in the strict sense of the word, such as has been described in a previous chapter, had been destroyed, perhaps, more completely in France than elsewhere in Europe. The nobles possessed less political power in France than in England or in Germany. But the land was still burdened by the ruins of the feudal system, by institutions, customs, and rights which had once been capable of defence when the nobles of France were the real government, but which had become now merely oppressive since the triumph of the monarchy and the withdrawal of the nobles from their estates to reside in Versailles or Paris.

The chief relics of feudalism were the judicial rights and

the financial privileges of the nobles. They still possessed and exercised certain judicial rights over the residents on their estates, and they were a privileged class. The in the matter of taxation. They were not the privileged only privileged class. The clergy shared the title classes with them, and a large number of rich men, who neither belonged to the nobility nor the clergy, purchased the same financial privileges. The privileged classes were not, indeed, entirely exempt from all direct taxation as they had once been. Efforts had been made ever since the Age of Louis XIV to place some part of the burdens of the State upon their shoulders, they paid their share of excise and customs; there were certain property taxes from which they did not entirely escape, but they were wholly free from the *taille*, and bore a far smaller share of the taxation than any corresponding class in any state of modern Europe. What they escaped from fell mainly upon the peasantry, and it is to the peasantry that we must now turn.

Serfdom had almost entirely disappeared from the soil of France, there was a large number of day labourers working upon the land, but the soil was largely in the Condition possession of small cultivators who were either of the *metayers* or proprietors. The former class paid peasantry to the owners of the land a certain proportion of its produce as rent, and are described as being generally both poor and discontented, but the class of proprietors was the most distinguishing feature of agricultural France. A large part of the soil was in their hands, and an English Peasant farmer (Arthur Young) who visited France shortly pro- before the Revolution deplored the subdivision prietors of the country, which, he believed, led to bad and un-productive farming. These peasants took an active part in the disorderly movements which accompanied the beginning of the Revolution, and the causes of their discontent are not difficult to find. The land which was cultivated was their own, which they could sell or bequeath, and yet it was surrounded by many arbitrary and irritating restrictions. Thus they had sometimes to pay to some feudal lord a certain number of sheaves of corn, or a certain number of chickens

or of sheep, or they had to grind their corn at the feudal mill, or to crush their grapes in the feudal winepress. More serious probably than all of these were the game laws of France, according to which the peasantry were forced to allow the great and small game of the neighbouring lords to invade their fields and destroy their crops. These burdens, and others like them, were the remains of the old feudal system of France, intelligible and defensible, while the nobles still carried on the government, but no longer anything but an anomaly since feudalism had been overthrown by the monarchy and the nobles were for the most part resident in Paris or at Versailles.

The annoyance caused by these feudal dues and restrictions was very great, but the chief burden was caused by the taxes of the State. The towns had managed to a large extent to escape, it was upon the country districts and upon the unprivileged peasantry there that the chief load was placed. The State taxes which the peasants had to pay were heavy, and they were assessed and collected in a way so exasperating that they produced more resentment than they need have done. The chief taxes were as follows. From the fifteenth century onwards the government had looked to the *taille* as its chief source of income.

This was a tax upon the houses and the landed property of the unprivileged. It was assessed by the central government and divided among the various districts of France by the intendants and their agents, and was regarded by the taxpayers with particular dislike. It was increased arbitrarily upon any sign of well-being in house or land, and the squalor of the villages of France, which is described by visitors before the Revolution, is to be attributed partly, indeed, to poverty, but partly also to the hope of avoiding taxation by the appearance of poverty.

Next in importance was the tax called the *gabelle*. This was not properly speaking a tax, but rather a salt monopoly in the hands of the State. The State alone could sell salt, and it forced every individual, man, woman, and child, to buy a certain amount in each year. The price was arbitrarily fixed, and it varied widely between one district

and another, the smuggling of salt, from areas where it was cheap, into those where it was dear, was, therefore, constantly practised, and the prisons were full of men who were charged with salt smuggling. Another tax was the *corvée*, a system of forced labour exacted by the State from the peasantry but it had been reduced to very small proportions, and was, on the eve of the Revolution, rather a cause of irritation than a crushing burden.

The total weight of taxes and feudal dues upon the peasantry was very great. It is calculated that in some districts the peasant paid to the State 55 per cent of all that he earned. He came to regard the system of government as the cause of his troubles. He passionately desired the overthrow of the government and the freedom of his land from all restrictions and arbitrary charges, and it is easy to understand, therefore, why he so readily co-operated in the early movements of the Revolution.

The peasantry were the most decidedly revolutionary class at the beginning of the movement, but there was no really conservative class. The towns were full of new ideas, and the commercial classes were irritated by the restrictions placed upon them by the government, and inspired to demand freedom by the sight of the far greater prosperity of commerce and trade in England. Even the aristocracy regarded the monarchy with feelings of jealousy, and though the upper ranks of the clergy warmly supported the established order, the parish priests were for the most part in sympathy with the desire for change.

We must turn now to the new ideas, which were spreading on all sides, all tending to the overthrow of the established order in Church and State, with a view to founding a more equal and a more humane society. Some kind of change was probably inevitable in any case, for the old forms of government were wearing out, and there were positive grievances enough to make the people press for practical reforms, but the Revolution was hastened and influenced by the writers of the time who inspired the French people generally.

with dislike for the existing order, and with passionate hope and belief in the possibility of the regeneration of France. There has probably been no era in the history of the world when literary men—writers, that is to say, without any official position in Church or State—have exercised such an influence upon the minds and actions of men, and it is necessary, therefore, to examine the nature of this influence at the end of the reign of Louis XV.

The movement was many sided, and some of the most prominent writers of the time who joined in it were to be its general found in Germany, in England, and in America. Its tendencies. Some of its main tendencies may be summarized as follows. In the first place, all the writers were opposed to the established order, some of them were conservative in temper, some of them revolutionary, but all were agreed in regarding the established order in Church and State with disfavour. A second marked characteristic of the movement was its humanity. All institutions were brought to this tribunal, and the writers almost without exception, condemned in the strongest terms religious persecution, cruel and vindictive punishments, the use of torture in trials at law, and all the many cruelties of the ancient *regime*. It may be noted further that most of these writers turned away with something like contempt and loathing from the actual history of France during the Middle Ages but, while they were accustomed to speak of everything mediæval as barbarous, they regarded the classical world of Greece and Rome with indiscriminating enthusiasm. Many mistakes were commonly made as to the history and institutions of Greece and Rome, and legend was uncritically accepted as history and without any misgivings the writers of the time drew their illustrations and their lessons from ancient history, taking examples of heroism and civic virtue from Plutarch's lives of the Greeks and Romans, and of despotism and vice from Tacitus' lurid pictures of the Roman Empire. Popular education had not spread widely in France, and the philosophical writings of the time, though written in easy and popular style, must have circulated chiefly among the upper and middle classes but ideas once current

Decline of France and End of Ancient Regime 659

cannot be restrained within limits, and the criticism of the established order and the vague hopes that were entertained of a new era spread far and wide among all classes in France

Voltaire (1694–1778) was the greatest name in French literature of the eighteenth century, and his activity extended to almost every field of literature, to drama, to poetry, to philosophy, to history, and to fiction, all written with perfect lucidity and illuminated with never-failing wit. He devoted his long life to the preaching of enlightenment, and to an assault upon the religious beliefs and institutions of his time, it was coercion in religion which he especially attacked, and religious toleration has had no more effective champion. In political and social matters his standpoint was less clear, he did not desire a democracy, though he saw that the French monarchy was weak and corrupt. He had been closely associated with Frederick the Great of Prussia in the early part of his reign, and he seems to have desired for France some ruler of the same kind, vigorous and unscrupulous, who would rule with absolute power, in the interests of enlightenment and humanity.

Another name that deserves mention, even in this slight sketch, is that of Montesquieu (1689–1755). His great book is "The Spirit of the Laws," in which he sums up the lessons of history on matters of government. His ideas were largely influenced by his admiration for the institutions of England, and he would have liked to see a free and balanced aristocratic government established in France. The special contribution which he made to political thought was his insistence upon the separation of the legislative, the executive and the judicial parts of the State, and his chapters dealing with this point had a great influence on the making of the constitution of the United States of America, and on the French constitution of 1791.

A more immediately influential name than either of these is that of Rousseau (1712–1778), who stands in many respects quite apart from the others. His deeply emotional nature was very far indeed from the intellectuality and rationalism of Voltaire and of Montesquieu. In many respects he threw himself against the currents of the age.

he preached a return to nature, and in the spirit of this famous phrase desired to alter the prevalent system of education from the family upwards, he rejected orthodox Christianity in every shape, but he held passionately to a belief in God and preached this belief with evangelical fervour. His political ideas are to be found in many of his works, but they are summed up in the small book which is entitled the "Social Contract," "Social Contract," which had an immense influence upon his own and the next generation, and has been rightly described as the Bible of the Revolution. In this book he asserts that the origin of all governments is to be found in the people themselves, not in any divine right of monarchy, nor in any contract between the people and their rulers. The power belonged, he maintained, originally to the people, and always belongs by right to them, as all governments emanate from them, so they have a right to overthrow all governments but when they have established a government that suits them there can be no limit to its power either in matters political or religious. So that whilst he seems at one moment to be preaching doctrines of wild revolution, another part of his book was quoted by the revolutionary leaders as justifying their most despotic action. It was not only the doctrines of the book, but also the style in which they were enunciated, in short epigrammatic sentences, which procured for it its great influence upon its generation.

In conclusion, if we think of France upon the eve of the Revolution, we must not imagine that its people suffered more grievously than those of many other lands, but they were more conscious of their suffering. They were inspired by a more hopeful determination to abolish the causes of it, and they were face to face with a government powerful in appearance, but weak in reality, the overthrow of which would leave the forces of rebellion in complete command of the field.

In addition to the ordinary histories of France, Taine's *Ancient Regime*, De Tocqueville, *The Ancient Regime and the Revolution*, Arthur Young's *Travels in France*, John Morley, *Voltaire and Rousseau*, Rousseau, *Social Contract*, translated by H J Tozer, Lecky, *History of England*, chapter xx, Lord Acton, *Lectures on the French Revolution*

CHAPTER XIV

The French Revolution

LOUIS XVI, who became King of France in 1774, was one of the most well-meaning men who ever occupied that position. He had seen with disgust the character of the Court of Louis XV, and he himself was influenced by the ^{Louis} ~~philanthropic~~ ideas of the time. He had been ^{XVI and} ~~married to Marie Antoinette~~, an Austrian princess, ^{Marie} ~~at a moment when it was hoped to bring France and Austria~~ ^{Antoinette.} together in common action in Europe. His queen was a woman of great strength of character and of more intellectual power than her husband possessed, but she was a stranger in France, and understood neither its problems nor its government, and her influence upon her husband was an evil one. From the first she was disliked as being a foreigner and an Austrian, and at the end she was regarded with some truth as the bitterest enemy of the Revolution.

The financial situation in 1774 was a very serious one. France had a large debt, and the debt grew year by year. We have seen in the last chapter some of the causes of this unsatisfactory condition of things. So long as the richer classes were exempt from their fair burden of taxation on the ground of privilege, it would be impossible to put the finances of France on a satisfactory footing, or to get such an income as the needs of the country demanded. The clue to the early years of the reign is to be found in the necessity for the abolition of pecuniary privileges and in the various attempts that were made to secure this end. The first ministry which Louis XVI appointed was admirably chosen. Its chief member was Turgot, a man already well known for his skilful government of a poor provincial district, and as a writer ^{Turgot} and sympathizer with the philosophic ideas of the time. Had Louis XVI supported him as his ancestor, Louis XIII had supported Richelieu, great reforms might have been peacefully

carried out, and France might have been spared the revolutionary trials that were to follow. Turgot projected many schemes for the abolition of privilege and the better government of France, and carried some out, but he found himself resisted by a court intrigue, which was supported by the queen, and the king unwillingly dismissed him. The next finance minister

Necker was Necker, a banker of Geneva and a Protestant, whose employment as a minister raised some constitutional difficulties. He was not, like Turgot, a great reforming statesman, but he was an excellent financier, and did much by economy and by skilful borrowing to bring about something like a balance between the income and the expenditure of the State. But while he was in office France became

The American War involved in the war between England and her revolted colonies in North America. The war was a great triumph for France. Great Britain was humiliated both by land and by sea, and the victory of the colonies could not have been won, as it was and when it was, if it had not been for the assistance rendered in many ways by the French Government. But this victorious war did little or nothing to strengthen the position of the monarchy or to undo the effects of the military failures of the last reign. The eyes of France were fixed upon the triumph of the United States rather than on that of the French armies. They hailed with enthusiasm the rise of a democracy and a Republic, and instead of supporting the government which had carried them through to victory, they began to think more seriously than ever of importing into France the ideas which they saw so successful beyond the Atlantic. In another way, too, the war damaged the prospects of the monarchy. Necker's careful management of the finances could only be successful in a time of peace, the war, in spite of its triumph, had involved France in great expenses, and Necker's economies were completely effaced. He, too, came to the conclusion that the privileged classes must be taxed, and he put out a full statement of the economic position of France in order to prepare the way for further measures. There arose, thereupon, **Fall of Necker** against him the same opposition as had been fatal to his predecessor, and in 1784 he had to retire from office.

The financial administration was now reduced to miserable expedients. The government was carried on for a time by reckless borrowing at a high rate of interest, and when this was no longer possible, the king tried to impose taxes upon all classes in France by means of royal edicts. There can be no question that in so doing he was only acting as his predecessors had often acted before, but the monarchy was no longer what it had been. It was weak because of the character of the king, and because of the rapidly increasing confidence of the opposition, and the king found his financial edicts resisted by the Parlement of Paris, whose existence he had revived immediately after his accession. And the resistance of Parlement was supported by the great mass of the people of France. Amidst all these confusions the cry was often heard that the nation itself must be taken into council, and that the States-General must be restored. The States-General, the ancient Demand for representative assembly of the three orders in States-General France, had not met since 1614, and their functions and their organization were little known, but it was known that they had formed a general representative assembly, and their restoration was now loudly demanded. The king, partly through weakness and partly through genuine sympathy with the aims of the popular party in France, determined to yield to this constantly growing demand. He restored Necker to his councils, and he declared himself ready to summon the States-General.

The decision was greeted with general enthusiasm, and the king was unquestionably popular. Two preliminary questions called for settlement. First, were the commons to have as many representatives as each of the privileged orders, the clergy and the nobility, or were they to have twice as many? The king, on the advice of Necker, decided for the popular claim, which was known as double representation. The question still remained as to how the representatives were to sit and vote. Were they to sit together and decide every question by a simple majority (in which case the representatives of the commons, with much support from the clergy and a little even from the nobles, would be able to carry the day), or were they to sit in three chambers,

and was every question to be decided by a majority of chambers? In the latter case double representation would prove little better than a mockery, and the privileged orders would be in a position to force their will upon the nation. This second question was not decided when, on May 5, 1789, twelve hundred representatives of clergy, nobility and commons came together at Versailles. The king opened the proceedings with an optimistic speech, but it soon turned out that nothing could be done until the question of the method of voting had been settled. Negotiations between the three orders came to nothing. The commons felt their hands strengthened by petitions and the general support of France, and a large number of the clergy declared themselves ready to come over to the side of the commons. After much negotiation and hesitation the commons on June 17, 1789, took to themselves the title of the National Assembly, and declared that they would proceed to their task of making a constitution for France, whether the privileged orders co-operated with them or not. By this act the Third Estate (or Commons) claimed the right to act for the nation as a whole. The Crown now was obliged to interfere. It had been driven from side to side by contending factions at court, but the king now determined to go down and announce his will to the representatives. He promised a large number of reforms, and he declared that the States-General was to be a permanent institution of France, but he spoilt all by announcing that the States-General was to be organized upon the three-chamber model. The commons, under the leadership of Mirabeau their greatest orator and most determined statesman, Mirabeau, who, though a nobleman by birth, had joined the popular side, determined to resist a proposal which would have given power to the privileged classes. The king, through humanity and through weakness, was not willing to make use of the army and to crush down the rebellion against his power which had thus clearly begun. In a few days, in spite of the bold words that he had spoken, a complete victory crowned the efforts of the commons. Many of the nobility and clergy came over to the commons of their own free will. The rest were asked to do so by the king himself, and by the end of the

month, all the twelve hundred representatives of France, or such of them as cared to attend, were assembled in one room and proceeded to draw up a constitution, each question being decided by a simple majority, and the popular party holding a decided preponderance in the assembly. The key to this strange surrender of the Crown is to be found in the financial situation. Money the crown must have. It had failed to get money under the former *regime* by any of the ordinary methods, it could only hope to secure a position of solvency by the help of the people; and the help of the people could not be gained except on the conditions which had now been won.

But the surrender of the king was to a large extent in appearance only. His courtiers were urging him to action and to repress, by means of the army, the movement in Paris, which grew more dangerous every day. It seems that in the end he acquiesced, and a great movement of troops was ordered and many regiments were to concentrate upon Paris. Necker, who had shown no great ability in his administration, but who was still a popular hero with the people of Paris, was dismissed, and men of known aristocratic and reactionary opinions were appointed in his place. When the news of these events reached Paris it produced a storm of opposition. The whole city seethed with political excitement, and agitation. The assembly sat at Versailles, twelve miles away, but in Paris itself there were politicians and mob orators, such as Marat and Camille Desmoulins, who were quite capable of leading the people. Some of the troops quartered in Paris went over to the popular side. A storehouse of arms was attacked and taken, and then on July 14, the crowd proceeded to the attack of the great fortress of the Bastille. This was no longer a place of any military importance, it had a small garrison and only contained a handful of prisoners, none of them imprisoned for political reasons. But it had been a famous prison a hundred years earlier, it was regarded as a symbol of absolutism, and it might have been used, if properly garrisoned, as a means of holding Paris in check. It could have resisted the assault made upon it for a long time, but its provisions were scanty.

and its garrison half-mutinous. The commander was told that the king himself had surrendered. He determined in the course of the afternoon to surrender to the insurgents on condition that his life and the life of his garrison were spared. The promise was given, but as the commander and his officers were being taken off, the unruly crowd broke in through their guards and cruelly murdered them.

The king and court were at once frightened from their designs by this successful attack upon the Bastille. The king's unpopular ministers were dismissed and Necker was restored to Paris. The Revolution had gained its first great victory over the monarchy. A few months later, in October, 1789, it gained another equally important. From the first the people of Paris had desired to have the king resident in their midst, but hitherto he had refused to leave his great palace at Versailles. On October 5, however, a women's demonstration against the scarcity of food in Paris was turned into a movement against the Palace of Versailles. A great crowd partially armed made its way out thither and requested the king to come and live in Paris. He returned a dubious answer, but on the morning of October 6 the crowd broke into the palace and made their way to the apartments of the king and queen. The royal couple were for a time in great peril, but the arrival of Lafayette, at the head of the recently formed National Guards, relieved them from the pressure of immediate danger. Lafayette, however, had himself brought a request from the town council of Paris, urging the same point, that the king would come and reside at Paris. He was as unwilling as ever to go, for his Parisian palace of the Tuileries was wholly unprepared to receive him, and he realized that he would be practically a prisoner there, a refusal would, however, probably have led to a further outbreak of violence, and on the afternoon of October 6, the royal party made its way to Paris and was installed in the Tuileries. From henceforth the king found himself more and more a prisoner in the hands of his people, and longed before all things to escape.

As a result of these events, the Revolution found itself for a time secure from interference, and the Assembly which had

now taken to itself the name of the "Constituent Assembly," was free to go on towards its declared object, the framing of a constitution in France, which should replace the old *regime* of royal absolutism and aristocratic privilege. The work of constitution-making was preceded by a declaration of the Rights of Man, in which the influence of Rousseau's teaching may clearly be seen. In this famous declaration it was laid down that all men are born free and equal in their rights, that the end of all governments is the maintenance of liberty and property, security and resistance to oppression, that all citizens have the right to take a share, personally or by their representatives, in the making of the laws, that all sovereignty rests with the nation, and that no one can exercise authority except as the representative of the nation. When the actual work of constitution-making was begun, the general lines followed were those of the English constitution. Louis XVI was willing to accept many of the changes that were proposed, though they reduced him to a position very different indeed from that which his great ancestors upon the French throne had held. But there was one part of the new constitution which mortally offended him. The Assembly had undertaken to reorganize the whole government of the Church, the dioceses of the bishops were altered, the incomes of the clergy were somewhat equalized, the appointment of all clergy, high and low, was taken from the hands of the king and of the Pope, and was made subject to the voters at large, whatever their religious opinions might be. These changes, which all breathe the spirit of equality and democracy which characterizes the Revolution, were disliked by the Pope, and in the end he issued against them a bull of condemnation, and excommunicated all those who were answerable for them. The king had been forced to sign them, however, and his conscience was profoundly uneasy. He hoped for an early opportunity of undoing what he regarded as an impious work.

The king's position in Paris grew more and more difficult. The public orators and many of the newspapers were beginning to suspect his intentions, and to denounce him as an enemy of the Revolution. He had long thought of flight, and his queen,

Marie Antoinette urged him in the same direction. He made arrangements with the general in command of the north-The king's eastern armies, and intended to place himself under flight.

the protection of the troops in that region and to dictate certain changes in the constitution. He escaped from Paris in June, 1791, but, when he was close to safety, he was discovered, arrested, and brought back to Paris. The situation was a very difficult one, but in the end the Assembly determined to suspend him from his functions until the constitution was completed. When completed, it was to be offered to the king. If he accepted it, he would reign with the powers which it gave him, if he refused it, that would amount to abdication. There were, however, a number of politicians in Paris who believed that this course would lead to no good result, and who pressed for the king's immediate deposition and the declaration of the republic. A petition was drawn up, and a crowd gathered to sign and support it, the crowd was, however, dispersed by the National Guards, and many people lost their lives in the confusion that followed. In September,

1791, the constitution was at last completed. France was to be governed by a king, who had the right of appointing his ministers and of controlling the army and navy, but had no power of permanently vetoing legislation. The work of legislation was entrusted to an assembly of some 750 persons, elected by those who possessed a certain amount of property, a qualification which included the peasantry, but excluded most of the workers of the towns. It consisted of one chamber only, which was to sit for two years. The local government of France had also been reorganized: the old provinces with their historic memories were swept away, and for them were substituted eighty-three small departments with names derived from some river or mountain, or other natural feature. This constitution was now offered to the king. He formally accepted it and declared his intention of ruling according to it. Many, both at home and abroad, thought that this marked the end of the Revolution, and that France would henceforth enjoy a constitutional life very similar to that which was to be found in England.

But the Revolution was not nearly over, its most violent period had not yet begun. Many causes contributed to the next outbreak of revolutionary violence. The constitution was not easily workable, the king was not loyal to it, and the queen was bitterly hostile. The Revolution, so far as it had gone, had by no means satisfied the indefinite aspirations and hopes which had been entertained at its beginning. It would have been difficult in any case to prevent a further movement in favour of equality and democracy, but now a new influence began to act upon the French Revolution. War came between France and a European coalition, and this war altered the whole course of the movement.

An all-important factor in the European situation was the condition of the kingdom of Poland. We have spoken in an earlier chapter of its weakness and of its decadence, and we have seen how, in 1772, Prussia, Austria, and Russia had each of them seized a portion of the outlying territories of the unhappy kingdom. But after that it seemed as though better times were in store. All classes of the people were awake to their danger, and the king, Stanislas II, though in no sense a great or a strong man, was really anxious to give to the country a workable constitution by abolishing the dangerous powers of the aristocracy and establishing an assembly that could really make laws, and a ministry that could really govern. The country made undoubted progress, but the neighbours of Poland, and especially Russia, were not anxious to see their victim acquiring new strength, and when therefore in 1791 the reformed constitution was at last forced through, they prepared to interfere. Excuses of the most flimsy kind were discovered, Poland was invaded, her neighbours determined to seize upon portions of her territory, but the principle to be adopted in the division of the spoil awoke violent contentions. In the end Austria was left out from the scheme, Russia gained the larger amount of territory, but Prussia seized valuable lands which rounded off her own. It will be well to look a little further, and to see the actual end of the unhappy country. Divided and pillaged as she had been, the State was unstable,

and the population irritable and discontented The Russians brought matters to a head by ordering the entire disbanding of the Polish army The order was met by a rebellion under the leadership of the Polish hero, Kosciusko He gained some remarkable successes, but it was impossible that he should win any final triumph against the vast powers leagued against him In October, 1795, the third and last partition of Poland took place Prussia, Austria, and Russia all joined in the spoil, and mutually promised that the name of Poland should never reappear on the map of Europe

These Polish troubles have been put here at the beginning of the foreign relations of the French Revolution, because they had throughout a great influence upon the actions of every European power, and did much to make an efficient and energetic coalition against France impossible There were two revolutions in Europe, the Polish and the French, and the Polish Revolution assisted the French Revolution to triumph by withdrawing a large measure of the energies and attention of the great powers

From the first the French Revolution had attracted a great deal of attention At first Europe saw with satisfaction the disappearance of the old monarchy which had so often kept Europe in alarm during the last two centuries, and it was believed that the new constitutional government would be weaker and less dangerous to the peace of Europe But soon the action of France provoked the hostility of several powers The principles which the Revolution proclaimed tended to subvert the existing order in every European country, and Austria and the other German states had also more definite grievances France had declared the total abolition of feudalism tithes and feudal dues were no longer to be paid, and it turned out that many of the tithes and feudal dues paid upon the eastern frontier went into the treasuries of German powers, and that these payments had been guaranteed by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 The French refused adequate compensation and they declared that the protests of the German powers were an insult to French independence

and powers of self-government. They on their side had their grievances against the German states. A number of French nobles, including the brothers of the king, had left France since the beginning of the Revolution, partly in fear, but partly in order that they might not in any way participate in a movement which they detested. They had taken up ^{The} their residence beyond the frontiers, at Treves and emigrant at Mainz, and there they kept up the appearance ^{nobles} of a royal court, and openly enlisted and drilled troops with a view to interference in France and the overthrow of the Revolution. The French king had formally protested, and the emperor, Leopold, who succeeded Joseph II in 1790 used his influence and procured the disbanding of these troops, but on both sides the war fever was growing. Nearly all classes in France desired war. The king believed that it would secure his liberation at the hands of the foreign army, the conservative party thought that it would consolidate the constitution, most of the revolutionaries believed that it would reveal the duplicity of the king and hasten the establishment of a republic. The only opponents of the war were to be found in the extremest members of the revolutionary party, the so-called Jacobins¹. The leaders of these men, Marat, Robespierre and Danton, protested and declared Declaration that under the existing circumstances no good of war. could come of an European war. In April, 1792, war was declared against Francis I of Austria, who at the age of twenty-three had just succeeded his cautious and diplomatic father.

The war opened on the side of France with great enthusiasm and confidence of victory, but the first campaign in Belgium was an entire failure, and the immediate result of the war was the exasperation of public opinion against the king. He was believed to be in sympathy rather with the enemy than with the armies of France, and to desire a victory for the Austrian troops which would lead to the liberation of himself and his court.

Influence
of the war
on the
position of
the king

¹ This famous name is derived from the fact that the political club which represented the most advanced revolutionists met in a building which had once belonged to the Jacobin Friars.

from his Parisian captors. The Assembly was unwilling to take any definite action, and the next great move in the Revolution was carried out by a secret conspiracy of the Jacobins. Danton, a barrister of good standing, who had thrown himself with ardour into the cause of the Revolution, was the leading force in the movement. It was due to him that on August 10, 1792, an attack was made upon the palace by the revolutionists of Paris, assisted by troops which had arrived in Paris on their road to the frontier. The king and queen and the royal party fled before the attack was actually delivered, and found a place of refuge in the hall where the Assembly met. The palace was stormed, the Swiss guards who defended it were cut down, the victorious insurgents invaded the Assembly room and demanded the deposition of the king. It could not now be refused. Louis XVI was declared deposed, and a new Assembly to be elected by manhood suffrage, and to be called the Convention, was summoned to decide the future destinies of France.

This great upheaval was soon followed by a deed more terrible. To understand it we must remember that France was for a time without effective government, the legislative assembly was soon to disappear, the ministers whom it had appointed were new to their work and possessed little authority. The most powerful agency that was to be found in France was the Municipal Council of Paris, which was known as the Commune. The constitution of this body had been changed on the morning of August 10, and it consisted now of men of extreme opinions, among whom the chief influence was that of Marat. Paris was doubtless full of men who deplored the overthrow of the monarchy, and who looked forward to an early opportunity of reversing the decision that had been taken on August 10. It was alleged that conspiracies were being formed to overthrow the newly established government. It was determined to search Paris for hidden arms and possible traitors, and the prisons of Paris were, at the end of August, crowded to overflowing by men who had been thus arrested. Then, on September 2, extemporized tribunals were set up by

order of the Commune and the prisoners were brought before them. Ordinary offenders were sent back to prison, but those who were believed to be friendly to the monarchy and therefore hostile to the new September Government, were thrust out from the doors of massacres the prisons and massacred in the street. For three, and to some extent for five, days this hideous work went on, and it is probable that about 1500 persons, among whom were to be found several women, were butchered. The responsibility for the act rests with the Commune and with its Executive Committee, on which Marat had a place. In a document subsequently circulated in the provinces Marat the massacre was described as the spontaneous vengeance of the people against traitors in their midst at a time when France was engaged in a dangerous war, but there can be no doubt that, if it was partly carried out by the anger and suspicion of the people, it was also to a large extent planned and organized.

If we turn to the frontiers, we see there an unexpected result. The Austrians had been joined by the Prussians, and together they had invaded France under the leadership of the Duke of Brunswick. The frontier towns fell into their possession, and they marched on without meeting with serious resistance until they reached the hills of the Argonnes where an army was posted under the command of Dumouriez. A battle was fought at Valmy. It resulted in a serious check to the forces of the allies, and the check was made much more serious by what followed. The Duke of Brunswick had never been in favour of a march to Paris. The weather was very bad, his troops were suffering from illness, it was difficult to procure provisions. Instead, therefore, of making any further attempt to penetrate through the lines of the enemy, he negotiated with Dumouriez for a retreat, and fell back towards the German frontier and subsequently passed the Rhine. The Battle of Valmy was a small one, but it is one of the most important in European history. It first gave confidence to the revolutionary armies and inaugurated that series of military triumphs, which under Napoleon carried the French flag into nearly every European capital.

The Convention promised on August 10 was elected in the early days of September, and it was believed at first to have resulted in a considerable victory for the more moderate party, but the events which followed soon gave the supremacy in France to the extremest of the revolutionary parties. The Republic was declared, then the king was placed upon his trial, and in defiance of the provisions of the constitution of 1791, he was found guilty of treason and was executed in January, 1793.

The year 1793 saw the establishment of the Reign of Terror. The control of the government soon passed into the hands of the extreme revolutionary party of the Jacobins, although without question they were not supported by more than a minority of the people. But they were daring and decided, and their rivals, the Girondists were timid and uncertain in their aims. France meanwhile, was plunged into a war of ever-increasing magnitude. Civil war was soon added to the foreign wars. In La Vendée, a district of Western France, the peasantry rose in insurrection against the republic, protesting against the attacks upon the Church and the attempt to force them into the army. In the south and in the east there were dangerous movements, especially in Lyons, and Toulon. Abroad, the number of the enemies of France was increasing. Britain, Holland, and Spain joined early in 1793 and soon France had to face the coalition of all the great states of Europe, except Russia, and Russia herself was unfriendly. The French armies were defeated and the collapse of France seemed imminent. The Jacobins had to organize resistance against these apparently overwhelming dangers. There was no possibility of applying constitutional methods, for a free vote would certainly have overthrown the Jacobin power. They ruled therefore by terror, they ruled, that is, as many governments have ruled before them, by frightening their enemies into submission. The chief agency of their power was the Committee of Public Safety, a body of twelve men, in which first Danton, and then later Robespierre, was the chief influence. This body overruled all other authorities.

whatever, but it was specially concerned with raising troops and directing campaigns, and in the end it succeeded in winning a series of remarkable victories for France. In Paris the Revolutionary Tribunal had been established, and before it were sent large numbers of men and women accused of offences against the State. Hostility to the Jacobins was interpreted as high treason, and, after a hurried trial, those who were found guilty were sent to the guillotine. The batches of victims showed a constant tendency to increase. The queen followed the king to the scaffold, and many men who had taken a prominent and an eager part in the early scenes of the Revolution were put to death. Soon even moderate republican opinions were interpreted as an offence against the State, and the leaders of the once-powerful Girondist party were sent to prison and the guillotine.

Soon the Jacobins began to quarrel among themselves. It is difficult to distinguish the aims and the limits of the different parties. There was one party of more moderate men led by Danton and inclining to more merciful measures at home, and to a limitation of the foreign war. Another party which was led by Hébert and Chaumette had its centre in the Paris Commune, and urged on social changes of the most radical description. Through the influence of this party a new era was inaugurated, the first year of which was to date from the declaration of the Republic in September, 1792, and France dated officially by this new era until the reconciliation of Napoleon with the papacy brought back the Christian calendar. The year was at the same time rearranged. The old months were abolished, and new names, taken from the characteristics of the seasons, were adopted, divisions of ten days were substituted for the weeks of seven days. A new decimal system of weights and measures was introduced. Then, through the influence of the Commune, Christianity was suppressed in Paris, and the worship of Reason substituted for it. A third party consisted of Robespierre and his followers, who were opposed to the moderate counsels of Danton on the one hand, and the violence of Hébert on the other. Their chief source of

power was to be found in the Committee of Public Safety, where Robespierre ruled for several months before his downfall. We cannot go into the contests between these rival parties, failure or success, though it meant death or life, turned often on small incidents. The great mass of the people of France and even of Paris had no influence upon the course of affairs. The one aim of each party was to secure the support of the energetic revolutionaries of the capital and the armed force of the streets.

In the end Robespierre triumphed, his rivals were sent to the guillotine, and it seemed as though he might be able to found some orderly and efficient government. Robespierre was a man of definite and fanatical ideas, he had accepted the teaching of Rousseau, and he desired to carry it out as far as possible. The worship of Reason was abhorrent to him, and he desired to replace it, not by Christianity, but by that vague Theism which had been preached by

Rousseau. The assembly tamely co-operated with him. it voted that the one worship suitable to France was the worship of the Supreme Being.

A day was set apart when with many symbolical incidents and much speech-making the new religion was inaugurated by Robespierre himself. But for all this the Terror did not cease. fear in the case of Robespierre had much to do with his cruelty. He knew himself to be surrounded by enemies whose triumph would mean his destruction. He struck on all sides, and the batches of the victims for the guillotine increased week by week. He openly aimed also at the establishment of a sort of dictatorship, a step which his teacher Rousseau had also recommended, from this position he hoped to organize the State so as to realize the vision of happiness and of austere virtue, which had always been before his mind as an ideal. But his power could not last long. he exasperated too much opposition, and he roused the fears of too many rivals, he could bear no competition, and the guillotine was his method of settling all rivalries. In the end, therefore, a conspiracy was set on foot, many men who differed very widely from one another in opinions and in characters, united in a desire to overthrow the hated dictator.

In July, 1794, an attack was made upon him in the hall of the Convention. He tried to find means of meeting the blow in the Commune, which since the death of Hébert had been in his power. But the Convention could not now withdraw. Paris seemed likely to be the scene of a pitched battle, but Robespierre's followers fell away from him, he was himself seized, and having been already declared an outlaw, was guillotined without form of trial.

With the fall of Robespierre the reign of terror soon came to an end. Some of those who had overthrown him were terrorists even fiercer than himself, but the overthrow of the dictator allowed public opinion to declare itself in many ways, and it was soon obvious that the general feeling was bitterly opposed to the measures of cruel oppression under which Paris and France had groaned for so long. The members who had been excluded from the Convention returned to it, and before the end of the year, though occasionally measures of great severity were adopted, the general tendency was towards more normal methods.

Moreover the great cause of the Reign of Terror had disappeared. It had originated in an idea, false but natural, of the needs of France when she was fighting for her existence against the European coalition. In the face of the dangers into which she was thrown all measures seemed permissible, and the cruelest repression of the enemies of France laudable, if only it led to successful resistance to the invading armies. In the spring of 1793, the military outlook for France had been extremely dark. The early successes that had been won in Belgium had been turned to defeat, and Dumouriez, the chief commander of the French armies, was beaten at Neerwinden, and went over to the enemy, declaring himself in favour of restoring the monarchy. His army refused to follow him, but all through the summer of 1793 the enemy was penetrating French territory in the north, the east, and the south, while in various parts of France, but especially in the south and in the west, civil war of a particularly bitter kind had broken out. All these dangers had to a large extent passed away before the fall of Robespierre. Through the energy of the Jacobin

government the rebels in France had been beaten down and punished with great cruelty. The tide of foreign war had also turned in favour of France. her territory was almost free from enemies, and the French armies were entering upon a career of conquest beyond her own borders. The Revolution had

War for the natural frontiers of France
 begun by a declaration that France desired to live at peace with all men, and would make no conquests, but those ideas were forgotten now. It was declared that French territory must expand as far as her natural frontiers, and the phrase was interpreted as implying at least the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. Very soon, as the French armies proved their superiority to all those whom they met, even this aim was not high enough, and France entered upon a career of indefinite conquest. There was clearly no need any longer to maintain the terror in order to give confidence to the armies and energy to the government. Men's nerves grew steadier, and more sober views of the situation were rendered possible. They turned now with loathing from the reign of terror, and from the Jacobins who had supported it so long.

The new trend of ideas was shown by the Constitution which was accepted in July, 1795. The infant son of

The Constitution of 1795
 Louis XVI had recently died in prison, the next heirs to the throne were both of them exiles from France and fighting in the ranks of her enemies.

It was felt that there was a real opportunity for winning to the Republic a great mass of opinion hitherto hostile to it, if only a moderate constitution were drawn up and proclaimed. So there came what is called the "Constitution of the year III." It was preceded not only by a declaration of the rights of man, but also by a declaration of the duties of a citizen. Two chambers (not one as in the constitution of 1791) were henceforth to guide the policy of France. There was to be a Council of 500 forming the lower house, and a Council of Ancients—men over forty years of age—forming the upper house. The upper house was to have a suspensory veto upon all legislation, and in order to avoid the pressure of the armed mob of Paris, the chambers were allowed to sit where they chose. The Executive Government was to be vested in a Directory of five

persons, who were to take over most of the powers of the Committee of Public Safety, and to have in their hands the direction of diplomacy and of war. It was further decided that one third of the assembly should retire each year, and that two-thirds of the first assemblies should consist of members of the present Convention. This last regulation is defensible, but it gave at the time great offence. Men had hoped for a complete change of system, and now it was clear that the next assemblies would to a large extent carry on the policy and ideas of the Convention. All parties rose in protest against this regulation, and an insurrection of Paris took place in October, 1795.¹ The Convention faced the new rising in a spirit very different from that which had been shown in face of demands of the mob in the earlier days of the Revolution. The defence of the Convention was entrusted to soldiers, and Napoleon Bonaparte was one of the chief of them. When the attack was made upon the Convention it was driven off with artillery, and the new Constitution was thus imposed upon France. On October 26, 1795, the Convention came to an end.

The Revolution now became to a very large extent merged in the career of Napoleon, he had hitherto played only a subordinate part, but he had distinguished himself in the suppression of the rising, and from this time forward he was promoted from post to post until he became the Emperor of France, and the most prominent figure in Europe. It will be well, therefore, now to follow the course of the war and then return to the political history of Europe, for it is the war that is henceforth the most important feature of the times. The prophecy of Burke was about to come true. France was turning away her eyes from the confusion and ignominy of her domestic politics and was watching with enthusiasm and with rapture the triumphs of her soldiers. The politicians lost hold upon the public imagination and the soldiers won it, and it is as a result of this tendency that Napoleon, the darling and the hero of the French armies, made himself before long the supreme master of the government of France.

¹ This is known as the Rising of Vendémiaire from the name of the month in the new calendar in which it took place.

The coalition against France was breaking up. We have seen that Polish affairs and rivalries in various parts of Europe had strained already the relations between Austria and Prussia. The victories that the French had won in 1794 had made the Prussians still more anxious to have done with the war, and in 1795 the Peace of Basel was signed, whereby Prussia ceded territories upon the left bank of the Rhine to France and received a promise that Germany, north of a certain line, should be free from operations of war, and that Prussia should be recognized as the leading power in the north of Germany. Spain also withdrew, so that France now had to face Austria and Great Britain only. It was against Austria that all her efforts were directed. The campaign was to be conducted along two lines: one French army was to advance towards Vienna by the valley of the Danube, whilst another was to attack the Austrian power in Italy, and if successful was to march against Vienna through the north-eastern passes of the Alps. It was to the command of the Italian army that Napoleon was appointed. It was here that for the first time he showed his military genius and demonstrated the immense superiority of the French armies over those which Austria could put into the field against her. He forced his way over the Maritime Alps, compelled the King of Sardinia to withdraw from the Austrian alliance, pushed on and occupied Milan. He was welcomed by a large body of Italian opinion, which loathed the Austrian rule and saw in the French their best hope of gaining national independence. Napoleon next advanced upon Mantua and laid siege to that city, which was an all-important fortress in the Austrian occupation of Italy. The Austrians put out all their strength in the effort to save the place. Five separate armies were despatched to the relief of the city, but each army was met by Napoleon and defeated. The crushing defeat of the Austrians at Rivoli, in January, 1797, showed that they could never hope to dislodge Napoleon, and Mantua surrendered in the following month. Napoleon now felt himself master of Italy, and he advanced into the Austrian territories by the north of the Adriatic. All efforts to resist him failed, but he felt his own position not altogether

safe, and he accepted in April, 1797, a truce which soon led up to the treaty of Campo-Formio in October, 1797. By this treaty the emperor renounced his claims to the Netherlands which were already in the possession of the French republic, and recognized the establishment of a free Italian State in the north of Italy under the title of the Cisalpine Republic. On the other hand, as the result of a very odious series of intrigues, the Austrians were placed in possession of the free republic of Venice, which was at this time the oldest of all European states. Venice had in vain tried to maintain her neutrality during the great war; her lands had been traversed by both armies, her actions had been misinterpreted, and the French had at last laid hands upon the city itself. It was incapable of resistance. The old warlike spirit which had made Venice for so long "the bulwark of Europe against the Ottoman" was at an end. The long range of Napoleon's artillery made the waters of the lagoons no adequate defence, and it surrendered somewhat unheroically into his hands. Then without any consultation of the wishes of the people, who were indeed bitterly opposed to what was being done, it was handed over to the Austrian power and its possession nearly compensated for losses sustained elsewhere.

After the peace of Campo-Formio, France had no enemy except Great Britain, but so great was the superiority of the British navy, that it seemed impossible to inflict upon her any serious blow. The next step in the war was a strange one. Napoleon was instructed by the Directors to undertake the invasion of Egypt. Egypt was a portion of Turkish territory, and against the Sultan the French had hardly the semblance of a grievance, but it was believed that in addition to the value of Egypt in itself, it would be a serious blow to English prestige and power if the French were established in a country which would bring them so far in the direction of India. They proposed already to cut the Suez Canal, and emissaries were sent forward to test the feelings of the Indian peoples.

On his road to Egypt Napoleon seized Malta, which had hitherto been in the power of the Knights of St John. He

reached Egypt safely, and soon made himself master of the whole country. The situation was, however, entirely changed by the naval victory which Nelson and the British fleet won over the French in the Battle of the Nile. Napoleon's communications with France were now rendered precarious, and his own future uncertain. He attacked Syria, but had to abandon the siege of Acre. On his return to Egypt he easily defeated the Turkish forces which were brought against him, but he received news from Europe that a second great European coalition had come into being, and that the French armies had suffered serious defeats. He determined to return to France. He left the Egyptian armies under the command of subordinate officers and himself managed to reach the coasts of France, though the waters of the Mediterranean were being patrolled by English ships.

The coalition was as serious as Napoleon had believed Prussia, indeed, still stood aloof, but the Russian Czar had thrown himself heartily into the movement, and the prestige of Russian armies under the great general, Suvorof, Napoleon had inflicted serious defeats upon the French in Italy, and had cooped the French armies up within the city of Genoa. Before Napoleon arrived in France, however, the situation had somewhat improved. The allies were quarrelling among themselves, and France was no longer in serious danger of invasion. Napoleon's campaigns in Italy had made him the hero of France, and his glory had not been tarnished by his Egyptian campaigns, for he had fought no battle which he had not won, and the naval supremacy of England was a force against which he had no means of contending. Public opinion regarded him as the man of the future, almost every party believed that it was he who could bring order and peace to France, and he was credited with designs very different from those which he entertained. The Directory was already in serious difficulties. From the first the Directors were at variance with the legislative assemblies, and that variance only deepened as time went on. They pursued a policy in religious and social matters which offended the mass of the people, and was not in itself successful. On more than one

occasion they had come into direct conflict with the assemblies, and had forced their will upon them by violent means. The disasters which attended the armies of France after the formation of the second coalition had ruined the authority of the Directory, and it was plain that the institutions of France were not likely to remain long in their present condition. Napoleon's ambition already aimed at the acquisition of the supreme power. On his arrival in Paris he entered into negotiations with various politicians, but he found his chief support in Siéyès, who had been prominent at the beginning of the Revolution as a political theorist, and who still believed that he could invent a constitution which would give to France the good government which it at present so clearly lacked. Napoleon joined him without by any means sympathizing with all his views. It was hoped that Napoleon's prestige and popularity were so great that he would be able to carry out changes which would lead to the establishment of his power and that of his colleagues without having to draw his sword and appeal to force. The soldiers quartered in Paris were put under his command and the legislative assemblies were moved to Saint Cloud, some few miles outside of Paris. Some of the Directors, acting in collusion with Napoleon, resigned, the others were forced to resign. Napoleon and Siéyès now hoped that the assemblies would pass a decree naming Napoleon, Siéyès and Ducos a triumvirate (a committee of three), for the government of France, and the drawing up of a new constitution. At first all went well, but in the end it was seen that the assemblies valued their independence and would not pass the required vote, unless they were forced to do so. An excuse was found in an imaginary attack upon Napoleon. The grenadiers were called in to disperse the rebellious legislators. A few who were left behind, acting in the name of the majority, passed the necessary decrees, and at the end of the day the "Revolution of Brumaire" ¹ was accomplished. Napoleon was not as yet

¹ So called from the name of the month in the new Revolutionary calendar in which it took place. Its date in the old reckoning, which was soon restored in France, was Nov 10, 1799.

either consul, dictator, or emperor, but his foot was clearly on the road which soon led him to absolute power in France

No period of history has had so many books written about it as the French Revolution. For English readers the summaries by Miss Gardiner and J H Rose are most useful. The larger histories of Carlyle, Mignet, and Morse Stephens, regard the movement from widely different points of view. For the war and the early career of Napoleon Mr J H Rose's *Life of Napoleon* is valuable. Fyffe's *Modern Europe* gives an unsurpassed narrative of European history from 1792. Walter Scott's *Life of Napoleon* may still be read with interest for a contemporary view of the events of the time.

CHAPTER XV

Napoleon

NAPOLÉON, who arrived at power by the Revolution of Brumaire, has been the subject of more books and of more discussion than any other figure in modern history, and there are many points in his career and character about which widely different opinions will always be held. He had been at first a warm supporter of the Revolution in its extreme form, and had been associated with the group around Robespierre, he had seen service with the armies of the Revolution, and had specially distinguished himself by his rapid insight and his daring at the siege of Toulon. We have seen how, for the suppression of the rebellion of Vendémiaire, he had been appointed to the command of the Italian army, and how uninterrupted his progress towards power had been from that date. His career shows that he was a man of extraordinary military genius, as capable of conducting a campaign as of directing a battle, but his achievements in the government of France prove that he possessed abilities nearly as high for the management of affairs in time of peace. He had a vivid imagination which allowed him to conceive great plans, and at the same time he had a grip upon

details which allowed him to carry them out efficiently Many of his schemes were in accord with the spirit of the Revolution, and with the past history of France as well He desired to see the State united and efficiently administered from the centre He wished to maintain the spirit of equality in social and legal matters, and he allowed no vestige of privilege to reappear He aimed at the conciliation of all classes that were willing to be conciliated, and only struck at those who proved bitter opponents of his power or of the welfare of France Were it not for the unlimited ambition and passion for power which runs through the whole of his career, history might have seen in him one of the greatest of all agents in the progress of civilization, as it is, we see in him the cause of many beneficent changes in France and in Europe, but also the cause, and often the guilty cause, of fifteen years of continuous warfare

His first task was to construct the new constitution that had been promised on the day of the Revolution of Brumaire Here Siéyes and Napoleon differed widely in their aims Siéyes aimed at a strange and curiously balanced constitution, which would have been presided over by a magistrate called the Grand Elector, who would have been little more than the pompous figure head of the State Napoleon, however, was determined that the State should be in the hands of a vigorous and effective ruler, and his strength of will and command of affairs soon brushed his colleague aside

In the scheme adopted by Napoleon, the Executive Government was to be vested in a first consul and two colleagues, who were also to be called consuls, but were to be entirely subordinate to the first consul With him was to rest the control of the army, the appointment of ambassadors, and the whole executive machinery of the State He was to be assisted by a State Council, which was to be nominated by himself, and which was to be the source of all legislation There were various other councils resting to some extent on the choice of the people, but the whole tendency of the new order was to restrict the power of election within the narrowest compass There was a complete reaction from the

enthusiasm for election which was visible in all the work of the early revolution. The chief body was to be a conservative. The Senate of sixty members, appointed at first by the Senate the consuls, though subsequently, when vacancies occurred, they were to be filled up by the Senate itself. This body was to elect the other councils, and was to decide whether any proposals were in harmony with the constitution or not. The Tribune. Next to this Senate of sixty, was a Tribunate composed of one hundred members appointed by the Senate. This was the only body to which was allowed freedom of debate. All legislative proposals were to be brought before it and discussed, if they were accepted by the tribunate they were next brought before the so-called legislative body consisting of 300 members appointed by the Senate, and these men were to hear speakers from the tribunate who brought before them the legislative proposals, and upon these proposals they were then to vote without discussion and without assigning a reason. Such a constitution could hardly last very long, and while it lasted the First Consul and his Council of State came to be more and more the predominant and effective part.

Hardly was the constitution accepted when Napoleon marched off for his campaign in Italy. The early successes of the coalition had not been continued, but the attack on Austrians and their allies still held the north of Austria. Italy, and threatened the frontier of the Upper Rhine. Napoleon, as in 1796, prepared to invade Italy, while General Moreau was to attack the Austrians upon the Danube. In this campaign, as in all in which Napoleon took a part, success was absolutely necessary to him. He owed his position in France to the splendour of his military achievements. Success in war was always the condition of his power. Military failure would have undermined his authority at once, and, if peace had come, the French would have soon returned to their old ideals, their belief in liberty and equality, their desire for a free constitution and a true republic.

The campaign of 1800 was brilliant throughout, and successful in the end. First there came the famous and probably overpraised crossing of the Alps, which brought

Napoleon and his army unexpectedly into Italy in the rear of the Austrian troops. He occupied Milan and then advanced towards Genoa, which had just been occupied by the Austrian army. In June he fought the battle of Marengo. At first it seemed that it must issue in a decisive check for the French, but the timely arrival of fresh forces allowed Napoleon to recover the ground that he had lost, and to overwhelm the Austrian army. A truce was made by which the Austrians withdrew their armies into the north-eastern corner of Italy, but even now Austria was unwilling to make peace. But when in December, 1800, General Moreau inflicted upon them the defeat of Hohenlinden in Bavaria, a defeat quite as complete as that of Marengo, the Austrian Government had at last to yield and sue for terms. The result was the Peace of Lunéville, Peace of which was signed in February of the year 1801. Lunéville The terms of the Peace of Campo-Formio were renewed, and in addition Austria abandoned all territory in Italy beyond the river Adige and surrendered all German territory west of the Rhine to France. After this, Great Britain alone remained in arms against France, and it seemed for a moment as though she might be forced by a great coalition to accept peace on terms unsatisfactory to herself. Many powers complained of Great Britain's despotic use of her naval power, for she claimed the right to stop and to search all vessels which she suspected of carrying goods belonging to the enemy. This procedure had been protested against already on many occasions, and now Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia joined in a league for resistance to these claims. The Czar of Russia, the half mad Paul I, threw himself with ardour into the project and became an eager ally of Napoleon, but the naval power of Great Britain was too strong to be resisted. In April, 1801, the battle of Copenhagen destroyed this alliance. Paul I had already been assassinated, and there was no possibility of weakening the naval supremacy of Britain. So in March, 1802, the pacification of Europe was completed by the Peace of Amiens between Britain and France. Amiens All English conquests were to be restored except the islands

of Trinidad and Ceylon. The most important clause of the treaty was one which laid down that the island of Malta, which the English had taken from France, was to be restored to the Knights of St John under certain conditions. We shall see shortly that this clause was nominally the source from which the next great European war was to grow.

Meanwhile Napoleon enjoyed not only the glory of unparalleled military triumphs, but also the credit of having given to Europe the peace that she had been vainly desiring for ten years. Germany at this time was passing in consequence of recent events through a rapid transformation. The conquests of the French

had proved again and again the utter incapacity of the old Imperial organization to protect Germany, and in the peace of Campo-Formio and again in the peace of Lunéville, great changes in Germany had been clearly hinted at. A deputation of the Imperial Diet had been called together to accept changes in the relations and possessions of the German States which had practically been decided upon by the great powers of France, Russia, and to a less extent by Austria. The chief

effort of Napoleon was to push both Austria and Prussia away towards the east of Germany, and to bring the western and south-western powers under the protection of France, thus Bavaria, Baden, and Wurtemberg all received great additions of territory,

which were gained by annexing the ecclesiastical states which were so numerous and so large in the west of Germany. Napoleon trusted that these acquisitions which had been won through the agency of France and could only be kept by the protection of France, would maintain Western German States in alliance with France. The ecclesiastical States had been notably corrupt and inefficient, and these changes probably worked ultimately for the better government and the improved prosperity of the land. The empire still existed in name, but it had long been reduced to a mere shadow, and the shadow was now beginning to fade away. It lasted, however, yet for some five years.

The Peace of Amiens allowed Napoleon to turn to his schemes of domestic reconstruction, and first he was anxious to

settle the religious question, which had been one of the greatest sources of the weakness of France ever since the legislative assembly had passed the unwise "civil constitution of the clergy" Napoleon's motives in his religious domestic policy were almost entirely political. He saw how great was the power of the Catholic Church, and how large a proportion of the people of France were really devoted to it. He believed, too, that no state could rest upon a stable foundation until its religion was in a settled condition. He had already shown himself more favourable to the papacy than most of the leaders of the Republican armies. Immediately after the battle of Marengo he opened negotiations with Pope Pius VII. The Pope was restored to his dominions from which he had been expelled, and in return he was induced to accept the Concordat or religious settlement of affairs in France (Easter, 1802). By this, the Catholic Church was again established and again endowed by the State. Napoleon as First Consul was to be allowed to appoint to all high ecclesiastical offices, and he thus stepped into the position which the kings of France had held with regard to the Church before the Revolution. The Concordat, however, was not to be associated with any measures of religious persecution, religious toleration was definitely proclaimed, and the ministers of other religions besides the Catholic were taken into the service and received the pay of the State. Such was the general character of the Concordat. It was made much less acceptable to the Pope when, immediately after it, Napoleon issued certain "organic articles," which he declared henceforth binding upon the Church in France, and which he issued without referring them in any way to the Pope. No papal bulls were to be received in France, no synod of the Church was to be held without permission of the Government, no bishop was to leave his diocese upon the summons of the Pope, and the famous declaration of Gallican Liberties which had been issued in the year 1682, and had then been bitterly resented by the Popes of that date, were declared still to be binding upon the Church and people of France. Could the Pope have foreseen these organic articles, he would probably not have

accepted the Concordat Accepted however it was, and all priests and bishops agreed to hold office according to it Religious unity was restored to France, and gave to the government an immense increase of strength

The Revolution had declared all titles and decorations abolished, but Napoleon, in 1802, instituted the famous The Legion of Honour, declaring that the nature of Frenchmen was such that they must have distinctions The new institution proved extremely popular and has never been abolished

Napoleon turned his attention, too, to education he established the university of France, a central institution in Paris, with seventeen subordinate academies in the Education provinces He organized also primary and secondary education, for hitherto, though many attempts had been made, little had actually been done

The work that he did for the judicial system of France was perhaps the most important of all his efforts at this time He had no special knowledge of legal affairs, for The Napoleonic all his training had been that of a soldier, but he codes quickly made himself acquainted with the legislative system of France and the problems connected with it He determined to introduce classification into the laws of France, and to codify them as the Emperors Theodosius and Justinian had codified the laws of Rome many centuries before He established a commission to work at the matter, and in a short time five great codes were drawn up In some respects they exhibited a rather retrograde tendency The jury was not used as much as it had been by the legislators of the Revolution in the penal code, branding was admitted confiscation of property was allowed, and hard labour was made almost as terrible as torture, but the general effect of the codes was no doubt as beneficial as their principles were rational

While Napoleon was engaged on this admirable and conciliatory work a new war cloud was arising in ever more threatening form on the horizon of Europe From the signing of the Peace of Amiens the relations between Britain and Napoleon had never been quite satisfactory, and a rupture was

now impending The causes of the new war are still disputed, but their general features are plain On the side of Napoleon it must be admitted that his actions since the conclusion of the peace had been in many ways provocative He had made great additions to the possessions of France, he had practically annexed to France the Cisalpine Republic, which had hitherto existed as an independent state in the north of Italy, for in 1802 he had himself been chosen as President of the Cisalpine Republic, which soon afterwards became the kingdom of Italy Piedmont was definitely annexed, Parma and Elba were also declared to be parts of the territory of France Still more provocative were his dealings with Switzerland The Helvetic Republic, which had been independent since the fourteenth century, was troubled by internal disputes of democrats against oligarchs, and of those who desired central government against those who wished to maintain the independence of the cantons Napoleon took advantage of the situation to occupy the country, declaring that Switzerland must be saved from herself The independence of Switzerland was nominally maintained, but she was henceforth to provide a large number of troops to the French army For all practical purposes she also had become a portion of French territory Moreover, while the possessions of France were being thus increased upon the mainland, there was evidence that the eyes of Napoleon were being turned again upon Egypt, and even upon India, and the reports of his commissioners sent out to the East seemed to show a design to take up at an early date the schemes which the Battle of the Nile had forced him for a time to drop The balance of power which had been established by the Peace of Lunéville had clearly been upset, and Europe had often gone to war to prevent any overthrow of such a balance

Renewed
war with
Great
Britain

Occupation of
Italy and
Switzerland

The
balance of
power
over-
thrown

On the side of England there had been much disappointment with the results of the peace It had been hoped that it would lead to a great increase of commerce, but it was found that no commercial treaty between the two countries would be accepted by France, and that Napoleon was determined to maintain

against England a barrier of almost complete commercial exclusion. The English government moreover refused to abandon Malta. The conditions annexed to the treaty had not indeed been fulfilled, but it is certain Malta that Britain made no attempt to fulfil these conditions. The rapid progress made by the French power upon the continent in time of peace was regarded as a sufficient excuse for maintaining in British hands this island, which might be made so important a basis of operations in any naval war in the Mediterranean. An English ambassador was sent to Paris, but from the first he was instructed on no account to consent to the abandonment of Malta, and as Napoleon insisted on acquiring the island, partly for military reasons and partly because to abandon his claim would have meant a great loss of prestige, war was probable from the first. It was declared in March, 1803.

Before we proceed to the war it will be well to follow the changes in Napoleon's personal position which rapidly led him to the assumption of the Imperial title. Immediately after the Peace of Amiens, the proposal was made to bestow upon him the Consulship for life, which he held at present only for a term of years. The proposition was submitted to a public vote, and three million and a half voted in his favour, while only eight thousand voted against him. The constitution was at the same time modified in the direction of absolutism, especially the tribunate, whose debates had hitherto kept alive the spirit of liberty and of criticism, was henceforth ordered to debate in secret, and no report was published. Shortly after this, various plots against the life or the power of Napoleon were reported. Some of the leading soldiers of France, such men as the exile Pichegru and Moreau who had just achieved such triumphs in Germany, were now leagued with various malcontents against Napoleon's power. The plots were discovered and their leaders suffered various penalties. The Duke d'Enghien, a Bourbon prince, was resident beyond the frontiers of France, and was believed by Napoleon to have had a hand in the recent plot. He was seized, contrary to all international right, was brought to Paris, sentenced by court

martial and executed No incident in Napoleon's career had hitherto so shocked the feeling of Europe as this In face of these attacks upon Napoleon's power, and with a new European war clearly before them, it was felt by his supporters that it would be well to show the confidence which France felt in Napoleon by giving him a higher title than any that he held at present The title of emperor had suggested itself for some time A proposal was definitely made in the tribunate, and in May, 1804, a decree of the Senate bestowed Napoleon it upon him It was the political culmination of Emperor his career, and was rendered even more striking by the fact that Pope Pius VII was induced to come to Paris and preside over the ceremony of coronation The new emperor restored at once the old military title of Marshal, and bestowed it upon some twenty of the great soldiers, who had already won for themselves a European reputation by fighting under the banners of France

In the war which now opened, France forced Spain into alliance with her, but with this exception she stood alone against the coalition which soon contained the leading Third states of Europe Great Britain at first was unalliance assisted, and Prussia never gave effective assistance, against believing that her position in Germany was secure ; France. but Sweden, Russia, and Austria soon joined, and they declared that their object was to force the power of France to return within her ancient limits Napoleon's first aim was to win a victory, which would have been decisive of the whole campaign, by invading England and dictating terms in London He prepared an army and flotilla of boats upon the English Channel near Boulogne, and clung obstinately to a belief in the possibility of his plan But the supremacy Failure of the British navy made the scheme highly of the dangerous All efforts to decoy or drive the navy invasion of from the Channel proved unavailing, and Napoleon England had abandoned his scheme of invasion before Nelson won the overwhelming victory of Trafalgar (October 1805) against the combined fleets of Spain and France The campaign thus opened with a failure, but the impression of it was soon effaced by the amazing victories which Napoleon won in Germany His

troops were directed to converge by different routes upon the upper basin of the Danube. The campaign which followed was a marvel of organization and foresight. First the Austrian General Mack, who had boasted of the triumphs he was going to win, found himself surrounded at Ulm and forced to capitulate with thirty-three thousand men. Then Napoleon pressed on towards Vienna. If Prussia had joined with the allies the situation would have been extremely dangerous for France, but under her king, Frederick William III, she pursued a wavering and ineffective policy, and Napoleon struck against Austria and Russia alone. On December 2, 1805, the armies met in the great Austerlitz battle of Austerlitz, and what followed was the most wonderful of all the victories that the military genius of Napoleon won. The enemy was hopelessly defeated. Vienna was in Napoleon's power, and the Czar thought himself fortunate to be able to retreat out of danger. The resistance of Austria was broken, and she was forced in Pressburg December, 1805, to accept the treaty of Pressburg, the third treaty which she had made with Napoleon after having suffered overwhelming defeat.

The overthrow of Austria was followed by the disappearance of the Holy Roman Empire, that institution which had existed since the reign of Otto the Great in the tenth century, and in a sense since the reign of Charlemagne in the eighth, and carried back the memories of men to the Imperial line of the old Roman Cæsars. We have seen that every effort to give it vigour and efficiency, though such efforts had been frequently made, had resulted in failure. With every decade it grew weaker, more obviously a sham and an anachronism. When Napoleon took the title of emperor, the Emperor Francis called himself Emperor of Austria. Now in 1806, without awaking the regrets of any one, the Holy Roman Empire ceased to be.

Shortly after the overthrow of Austria there broke out war between Napoleon and Prussia. Prussia had hitherto been carefully handled by French diplomacy, and had not fought against France since 1795. She found herself, however,

now driven into an ever more subordinate position in Germany Napoleon formed the states of Western Germany into a body called the Confederation of the Rhine, and thus War created a rival power to Prussia. Moreover pro- against Prussia mises which had been half-made to Prussia were not kept. She had hoped to annex the kingdom of Hanover to her dominions, but that hope was not realized. It had been proposed that Prussia should assume the Imperial title, but now no encouragement was given her to carry out that scheme. At last, seeing that delay would only reduce her to greater extremities, and relying upon the alliance of Saxony and of Russia, she declared war against France.

The war that followed was perhaps the most amazing of Napoleon's triumphs. The prestige of the Prussian army was little diminished. The name of Frederick the Great, and the tradition which he established, still seemed a guarantee for the efficiency and the victory of the Prussian troops. But in truth the traditions of Frederick the Great had been a positive drawback to the Prussian armies of late, for they had prevented the adoption of the new methods which had been introduced by Napoleon. It came as an overwhelming surprise to all Europe when in October, 1806, in a Over-double battle, which is usually known as the Battle throw of of Jena, two Prussian armies were annihilated. Prussia.

And worse still was to come. At Jena the Prussian armies had been beaten, but in what followed they were disgraced. Fortress after fortress with strong fortifications, large garrisons, and sufficient provisions, surrendered to insignificant French forces. Prussia seemed at a blow removed for ever from the list of the great nations. The king kept up a fierce resistance in the north-east, relying upon the assistance of Russia, but in June, 1807, the Prussian and Russian armies were again defeated in the murderous battle of Friedland, and Prussia and Russia accepted peace.

This is the famous Peace of Tilsit which marks the zenith of Napoleon's career. It took the shape of a friendly alliance between the Czar and Napoleon, in which Russia Peace of promised to support his schemes against all his Tilsit enemies, and especially against England. Russia lost nothing

by the peace, but upon Prussia the blows of the conqueror fell with extreme severity. The western lands of Prussia were taken away and made into the kingdom of West-phalia, which was given to one of Napoleon's brothers, and the Polish territories of Prussia were made into the independent duchy of Warsaw and given to the King of Saxony. Prussia was not to be allowed to have an army greater than a fixed and low figure, and French troops remained in occupation of the land.

The only enemy that now remained was Great Britain, which since the Battle of Trafalgar seemed almost invulnerable. Napoleon hoped, however, if he could not attack her upon the high seas to run her through her commerce. He issued in November, 1806, his famous Berlin Decrees whereby all the coasts of Europe, which were under the dominion of Napoleon, were absolutely closed to British trade. He hoped in this way to bring Great Britain to her knees by ruining the commercial class, which he knew to be the most powerful there, and he did not sufficiently understand the nature of commerce to see that his own dominions would suffer even more severely than those of his enemy. Great Britain retorted by the "orders in council" which placed all the coasts of Europe under blockade and allowed of no commerce from port to port in Napoleon's territories, until the Berlin Decrees were withdrawn. In Western Europe two small countries alone were outside of Napoleon's control, Denmark and Portugal. His designs against Denmark were frustrated by the vigorous action of the English Minister, Canning, and the British fleet. Portugal was overrun by a French army, and the royal family took refuge in Brazil.

Had Napoleon died after the Peace of Tilsit he would have seemed a man of almost supernatural powers. He had so far hardly attempted any enterprise in which he had not succeeded. His failures against the British navy had been quite lost sight of in the multitude and magnitude of his victories on land. Every European state in turn had come into collision with him, and the French armies had shown their unquestioned superiority to every one.

It was a wonderful but not a miraculous result. It is to be explained firstly by considering the military genius of Napoleon, his skill in every department of warfare, the originality of his methods, and the vigour with which he applied them. But it is to be explained also by considering the difference in character between the forces that France brought into the field, and the forces against which she had to fight. France was a nation under arms; her soldiers were proud of their leader, and felt themselves personally interested in the cause in which they were engaged. On the other side were no nations, but merely governments, separated for the most part in interest and in sympathy from the people governed, and relying upon armies which were brought into the field either by compulsion or by payment, which had no sort of personal interest in the victory of the cause for which they fought. Napoleon could conquer the governments of Europe, but he failed as soon as behind the governments there rose the peoples of Europe, convinced at last that the struggle was one which interested them, and prepared to fight, not at the bidding or coercion of their governments, but out of their own enthusiasm and eagerness for revenge. It should be noted also that in many parts of Europe a good deal of the programme of the French Revolution was accepted by those countries which were fighting against it incarnate in Napoleon, and that France was overthrown by the ideas, the reforms, and the military methods which she herself had brought into being.

From the time of the Peace of Tilsit onwards, our chief interest is no longer with France and her emperor, but with the various nations which one after the other rose in fury against him. In Prussia there was the stirring of a new spirit, and reforms of the greatest importance were introduced into the army and the civil order of the State. This is the most heroic period in the history of Prussia, when in spite of the terrible catastrophe that had fallen upon her armies, she began soberly but with invincible courage to reorganize her army and to set her government in order in hopes of the coming of better times. The chief agent of these

changes was Stein, who passed a series of decrees abolishing serfdom and giving to the peasant a more direct interest in the State. At the same time Scharnhorst introduced new methods into the army, military service was already compulsory, but, as a matter of fact, it fell only upon the peasant serfs. Now it was made equally binding upon all. A new sense of honour and a higher patriotism began to show itself in the ranks of the army, and a force thus came into being on which the might of Napoleon was broken in the end.

But it was not in Prussia that the first successful blow was struck. It came from a part of Europe where it could least have been expected. No part of Europe seemed sunk in

more hopeless decadence and political apathy than Spain. So weak, so disunited did Spain appear to Napoleon, that he treated it with even greater contempt than was usual with him in his dealings with foreign powers. There was a quarrel between the reigning King Charles IV and his son Ferdinand. Napoleon enticed Ferdinand into France and acted as arbiter in the quarrel. In the end he thrust both father and

son aside, and, by an act of extraordinary violence, appointed his own brother Joseph to be King of Spain. France seemed in all but name to have annexed the Spanish peninsula. At first all went

well. The Spanish government was incapable of energy, and Joseph was received in Madrid without difficulty. But then the Spanish people, deserted by their government, themselves began to protest against the French dominion, and in various parts of Spain, both in town and in country, spontaneous organizations began to arise. The French garrisons were attacked and driven within their fortifications.

At last in July, 1808, General Dupont, who had been sent into the south to repress a rising, was trapped at Bâlen, and there forced to surrender

with the whole of his army. It was the first defeat of any magnitude which the French troops had received since the rise of Napoleon. Its effect upon European opinion was immense. It demonstrated that the armies of France were not invincible, and everywhere there was a stirring of rebellion.

in consequence England declared herself ready to assist the Spaniards, and sent armies over to Portugal with that end in view. We must not here go through the story. The English armies in the Peninsula were at last commanded by Wellington, and under him won victory after victory. In 1810 he won the Battle of Salamanca, and in 1813 he advanced on to the soil of France itself. But though the part played by the English armies in Spain was really very great, credit must at the same time be given to the Spaniards for the daring with which they began the rising, and for the extraordinary tenacity with which in many instances they carried it out. There is no more heroic incident in the annals of European warfare than the resistance of the Spaniards in the Siege of Saragossa, in March, 1809. Spain proved, indeed, the cancer that ate away the strength of Napoleon's Imperial power. Had it stood by itself we cannot doubt that the armies of Napoleon would have sufficed to crush it, but other troubles, some of them of a gigantic kind, were rising everywhere, and thus the Spanish war could never be ended. It drained away some of Napoleon's best troops and generals, at a time when he needed all his forces for the life and death struggle in which he was engaged.

The
victories of
Wellington
in Spain

There broke out in 1809 another war with Austria, in which, though she was allied with Great Britain, she herself had to bear the whole brunt of the fighting. She, too, had been organizing her forces of late, and in this war she gave Napoleon far more trouble than when previously she had been assisted by a European coalition, yet here, too, Napoleon conquered once more. He occupied Vienna, and after much desperate fighting the Battle of Wagram forced the emperor to accept peace a fourth time in July, 1809. We need not give the terms, but it is important to notice that a new influence had come into Austrian policy in the person of Prince Metternich, who for forty years was to be one of the chief figures of European history. It was he who made not merely peace but alliance with Napoleon, and cemented that alliance by negotiating the marriage of Napoleon to the Austrian princess, Marie Louise. She was the niece of

Fourth war
with
Austria.

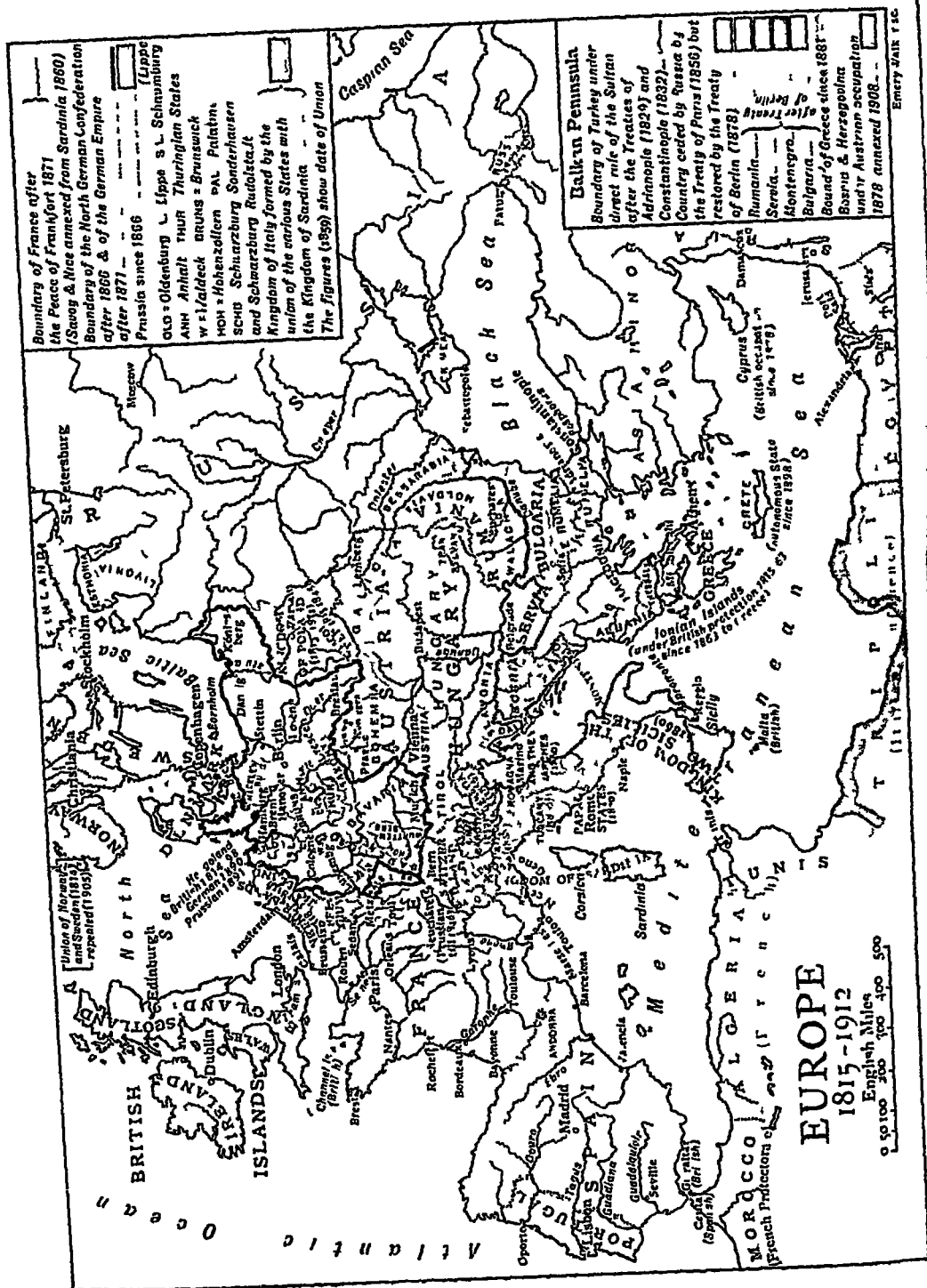
Peace and
alliance
between
Austria and
France.

the executed queen, Marie Antoinette, and Europe was amazed at an incident which seemed to admit a Corsican usurper to the ranks of the royal families of Europe

Soon Napoleon was faced by a much more terrible war. He had, as we have seen, made alliance with the Czar, Alexander, at the Peace of Tilsit, and he had at one time relied upon the friendship with Russia as the indispensable basis for all his schemes. But his friendship with Russia had been rapidly cooling of late. The Czar seemed to him backward in his co-operation in the commercial war against Great Britain. Napoleon had offended the Czar by his large annexations of territory in Germany. Above all, the establishment of the Polish Duchy of Warsaw seemed to be an encouragement to the Polish nationality, and a step therefore fraught with great danger to Russia which had annexed so large a territory inhabited by Poles. After a period of diplomatic friction, Napoleon declared war against Russia, and called upon all his allies—Germans, Prussians, Saxons, Austrians—as well as upon the subjects of his own enormous empire, to assist him in this campaign which he hoped would

establish the dominion of France in Europe, and indirectly lead to the overthrow of Great Britain as well. The campaign which followed is perhaps the most wonderful and the most tragic page in all the military annals of Europe. An army of six hundred thousand men crossed the Russian frontier, and the Russian generals retreated before this mighty force and did not attempt to resist the march of the

French until they had reached the river Borodino. There was fought there a great and murderous battle, which resulted in the end in the decisive victory of Napoleon, who pushed on at once towards Moscow. To his surprise he was allowed to enter the old capital of Russia without difficulty, and he hoped that overtures would at once be made for peace. No overtures, however, came. Fires broke out in Moscow and a large portion of the city was burnt down. The Russian winter was approaching and Napoleon saw himself insufficiently provided with food. He determined, therefore, to march back again into central Europe. But his march back was from the first harassed by watchful Russian armies, and



was soon turned into a terrible disaster by the frightful cold of the Russian winter. In any encounters that took place the French were still victorious, but the army dwindled at a dreadful pace through famine, through death from cold, and through desertion. In the end it was only with a small fragment of his original force that Napoleon crossed the frontier into Germany. Hundreds of thousands of his men were left behind prisoners in the hands of the Russians. So terrible a catastrophe at once awoke the hopes of all Europe. Germany began to stir. The Austrian armies had throughout the campaign fought slackly for Napoleon, although the Prussian King still declared himself the ally of the French, his armies in many instances joined themselves to the Russians, who following upon the tracks of the retreating French army invaded Germany. The campaign which followed was in many respects the greatest that Napoleon was ever engaged in. The armies were the largest, the movements of the troops the most intricate. We can only chronicle the result. Napoleon had by no means given up hope. He believed, he said, that he was nearer to Vienna than his enemies were to Paris, and he won one last battle at Dresden. But then he had, with 185,000 men, to fight the converging forces of his enemies which numbered 300,000 at Leipzig, and there a battle that lasted for two days resulted in the complete overthrow of the emperor of the French. Germany now turned against him, and with the remnant of his forces he fought his way back with some difficulty into France. He still showed all his old military skill and tenacity, but he could only postpone the end. The armies pressed on to Paris, and Napoleon was forced to surrender. He abdicated his authority, and was allowed to retire with a scanty income to the little island of Elba (1814).

It was thought that Napoleon's career was ended, and the diplomatists of all Europe gathered together in Vienna to consider what arrangements could be made to bring back order into the confused chaos, which had been brought about by the French Revolution. But while the diplomatists were engaged

upon their difficult task and were already beginning to find that the resettlement of Europe might very likely cause the outbreak of a new war, suddenly the news fell upon them like a bomb-shell that Napoleon had left Elba, had re-entered France, and that the whole people had arisen to give him an enthusiastic welcome, and that he was once more prepared to face the armies of Europe

This strange result had been brought about partly by the folly of the restored King Louis XVIII, brother of the executed Louis XVI. The government which he had established proceeded very quickly to make mistakes which exasperated against it the opinion of France. The military glory of the country was tarnished, her frontiers were withdrawn, but most important of all, it seemed as if the new government were going to tamper with the land settlement which had been made by the Revolution, and which Napoleon had always so carefully respected. The property of the Church, we must remember, had been confiscated by the State, and had been divided into small farms. It was believed that this property would be once more claimed by the Church and the crown, and the fear of such a revolution of property made even the peaceable classes in France welcome the return of Napoleon.

What remains of his career in Europe can be summarized in only a few lines. He made concessions to liberal demands, and seemed prepared to abandon much of his old despotic and Imperial claims, but all constitutional questions were of no importance until the issue had been settled by arms between France and Europe. The diplomatists in Vienna had declared Napoleon an outlaw, and each state had promised to do its utmost in forming an irresistible army for the defeat of France. The British and the Prussians were most nearly ready, and it was against them therefore that Napoleon directed his first blows. He hoped to get between them, to defeat them separately, and then to offer to them terms of peace which they would be willing to accept. But after he had won two indecisive victories at Quatrebras and Ligny he had to face the army of the British and their allies on the battlefield of Waterloo. He delivered a fierce direct attack

upon them, but failed to dislodge them. Early in the afternoon the arrival of the Prussian army began to press upon his right flank, while Wellington's ranks still stood, diminished indeed, but unbroken. The joint attack of the British and Prussian armies produced the complete rout of the French and the flight of their emperor. He reached Paris and tried in vain to organize further resistance there but he found himself abandoned on all sides. He abdicated, and threw himself upon the generosity of the British. Had he fallen into the hands of the Prussians it is probable that a much harder lot would have been his. It was decided by the British to send him a prisoner to the island of St Helena, where he lived for a few years and died in 1821.

J H Rose's *Life of Napoleon* is the best guide for English readers. The histories of Lanfrey, Thiers, Fyffe, and Alison, may be read with interest and profit. Seeley's *Life of Stein* gives a clear picture of the rise of Germany against the power of Napoleon. For the relations of France to Europe from 1789 to 1815 the one great authority is *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, by Sorel, Henderson's *Life of Blücher*.

CHAPTER XVI

Great Britain in the Eighteenth Century (1714-1815)

I

THE century that we undertake to survey in this chapter has a well-marked character. It was during these hundred years that Great Britain gave to her government some of the features that have most clearly marked it off from the governments of other countries, and it was during this period also that the foundations of her colonial and Indian Empire were firmly laid and the edifice began to attract the attention of the world. Briefly, the cabinet system and the colonial Empire are the great results of the eighteenth century for English history.

No one foresaw the cabinet system, it found a place in no Utopias, it had no prophet. It was the result of the practical ability of English politicians, meeting emergencies as they arose with the best expedients that they could devise.

The revolution of 1688 had transferred the political centre of gravity from the monarchy to the Parliament, but it was not at first Parliament that ruled. William III was by no means inclined to abdicate his powers as diplomatist and soldier into the hand of a great assembly, and, while he lived, he treated Parliament as an ally that must be cajoled and humoured rather than as a master. With the accession of Queen Anne the power of Parliament became vastly greater. The queen was not as unimportant an influence as she has been sometimes represented, but she had neither the will nor the knowledge necessary for the control of the nation's destiny. It was becoming clear during her reign that the power of ministers rested on Parliament as well as, and even more than, on the royal will. The great change in the policy of Great Britain, which contributed so much to the dramatic turn at the end of the war of Spanish

succession and to the withdrawal of Great Britain from the ranks of the combatants, was largely the result of a General Election, which gave the Tories an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons. Never had the fate of parties at an election been of nearly so direct importance for the policy of the nation. But a really strong king might still have had a chance of seating himself firmly on the saddle.

At Queen Anne's death there came no strong king—but the Hanoverian Georges. Their rule was weak because they did not understand the complex political structure of Great Britain, because they were primarily interested in the Electorate of Hanover, because they were men of little real ability, and because George I and George II knew little English and could not therefore usefully preside at the deliberations of the Council.

The king then must reign, not rule, and yet rule was necessary. What would take his place? Not the people themselves, even now that is impossible, and in the first half of the eighteenth century there were no public meetings, no political journals through which the people at large could express itself. Hardly could Parliament as a whole rule. It was too large to play the part of the Roman senate, and the Roman senate had not succeeded in keeping control over affairs when the Roman Empire began to develop. And yet the country must have a government capable at need of swift and decisive action, small in size, therefore, and closely organized. And such a government must be in harmony with the majority in Parliament, for its opposition had been fatal to the monarchy, and would be fatal to any government which attempted to take its place. The cabinet system with the Prime Minister at its head solved the problem satisfactorily.

The essential feature of the cabinet system after its full development are these. The members, who are in charge of the chief departments of the state, are drawn from the party that is supported by a majority of the House of Commons. (There have been Coalition governments, but these form no real exception to the rule.) Each minister

Constitutional influence of the Hanoverians

Who was to rule in place of the king?

is in a sense responsible for the conduct of all departments. He must give them his general approval. If a minister disapproves of the way in which any department is managed, he cannot criticize beyond a certain point and retain his own duties. He must be silent or resign. This is the principle of the solidarity of the cabinet system. The solid-
 arity of the Prime Minister exercises a general supervision over cabinet the whole Cabinet, which is in effect a committee of ministers. Until recently his office received no official recognition, and the name was for long repudiated as being French in origin and suggesting more personal authority than English. The Prime Parliamentary feeling cared to admit. But the Minister office of Prime Minister was a necessity of the situation, by whatever name it might be called. As the personal authority of the king has weakened the Prime Minister has tended more and more to become the real ruler of England, with an authority depending upon the support of Parliament, and varying according to his own talents and temperament, but always great and the real keystone of the arch of the cabinet. It is the Prime Minister who holds the cabinet together, enforces on it a common general policy, and prevents it from dissolving into government by departments.

The system has gradually developed. No single statesman is the author of it. But no one contributed more to its organization than Walpole (the Minister of George I and in all but name the Prime Minister of George II). He passed no law and made no open declaration about it, but it was during his long tenure of power (1721-1742) that we first see the system regularly working and solving the problem of founding an efficient government on a deliberative assembly. The one thing necessary to it was the definite organization of parties, and to this also Walpole contributed much, using often corrupt means to keep his supporters together, though not to the extent that has sometimes been supposed.

Such was the form of parliamentary government in England. It would be absurd to speak of it as the agency of the people of England, for though the constituencies varied widely in character, Parliament was very far from representing the

whole mass of the people The franchise in the counties was more popular than in the towns, for there it was often in the hands of a narrow and corrupt oligarchy The Character social class that ruled through Parliament was of Parliament without doubt the landed aristocracy of England Whigs and Tories differed on certain political principles though their differences grew very unreal as the century advanced But both were equally dependent upon the support of the landowners of England

There were efforts to alter the system George III was brought up with the idea that he must at all costs "be a king". He was imbued with the doctrines of Bolingbroke, who had taught in his "Patriot King" that the king ought to govern as well as reign, and he tried when he came to the throne in 1760 to act much as Louis XIV of France had acted a century before and to be his own Prime Minister, to confine the ministers to their own departments, and to secure the support of Parliament for himself He overthrew the Whig rule which had lasted since 1714, he roused bitter opposition in England, he was largely answerable for the outbreak of the American war But the failure of the arms of England in that war entailed the failure of the king's plans, and under the younger Pitt the old system was soon re-established, though in a spirit less distasteful to the king

There were proposals to "reform" Parliament, to abolish the flagrant inconsistencies of the old constituencies and to make Parliament more truly representative of the people Great men gave lukewarm support to this idea Chatham and Pitt both were in favour of it for a time it had powerful support in Yorkshire But the agitation lost whatever chance it possessed at the outbreak of the French Revolution, which seemed to Englishmen a terrible example of the result of yielding to ideas of reform The Reign of Terror seemed most unreasonably a strong argument against any sort of change The wars against the French Revolution and Napoleon were fought, in the opinion of many, for the maintenance of the old order

George III's efforts to "be a king"

Proposals for the reform of Parliament.

Influence of the French Revolution.

So the land was chained fast to its unreformed Parliament until the Battle of Waterloo relieved the tension of fear and hate

II

Certain writers used to speak of the eighteenth century with scorn and contempt—a bankrupt century they called it, without faith, whose chief significance was that it prepared the way for the Revolution. But this is really absurd. The eighteenth century can give a good account of itself and produced quite its fair share of greatness, heroism and progress. In literature the line of great writers never ceased from Swift and Pope at the beginning up to the glorious group of poets and writers that illuminate the end of the period, Wordsworth, Scott, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley—men whose importance has grown clearer and more certain with every decade that has passed. The full light of the dawn is on their faces. The eighteenth century too was great in art (it is the century of Gainsborough, Hogarth, and Sir Joshua Reynolds) and in philosophy and science (Hume died in 1776, Priestley in 1804).

But we must note especially how it was in the third quarter of this century that the great change which we call the industrial revolution began to pass over the land. Machinery began about 1764 to be introduced in the manufacture of cotton and wool, the industrial towns of the north began to develop and the population of England to move from the south to the north. Roads and canals were built and tended to the increase of commerce. The methods of agriculture were improved. The common lands of England were very largely enclosed and by their enclosure the productivity of the land was greatly increased, though the poor, to whom the commons belonged, were often robbed in the process. The face of England began to change. The countryside, with its strict adherence to custom, was shaken by the new methods. England was not alone in the adoption of these new methods, but she adopted them long before the other countries of Europe, largely because the most important mechanical inventions were the work of

Englishmen, and because her geographical situation had saved her from the perils of invasion. Wealth rapidly increased, and men did not at the time see or realise how poverty was assuming a harder and more evil form in the crowded industrial centres than it had done in the rural villages. There were some features in industrial England in the eighteenth century worse than anything that was to be found in pre-revolutionary France.

The century too saw the rise of a great and far-reaching religious movement. John Wesley (1703-1791) inaugurated an evangelical revival, and by his preaching and his Wesleyan-genius for organization gave it wide influence and ^{ism} a permanent form. Not only did the movement lead to the establishment of the Wesleyan Methodist Churches, but it also introduced a new spirit and a new life into the Church of England. It found its way among all classes of society, but its adherents were at first chiefly to be found among the artisans of the towns and the labouring classes of the country.

Why did the Revolution break out in France rather than in England? Why, when it had broken out in France, did it find bitter antagonism and not sympathy in England? Generally speaking the conditions in England were not so bad as in France, though the English agricultural labourer would find much to envy in the French peasant's ownership of the soil he cultivated. But the chief anti-revolutionary features of English politics and society were (1) the absence of despotic centralization in the English political system (1) no ab-
Large sections of the population were concerned
in the management of affairs. Local government was largely in the hands of the country gentry. The government was far from democratic, but those who controlled it were a large body rich, strong and able, far better able to resist than the discredited French monarchy. The absolutism of the French monarchy was the real political parent of the French Revolution. (2) There was no demand for revolution in England. The importance of the intellectual movement of France as preparing the way for the revolution

Why was there no Revolution in England?

(2) difference of intellectual environment

has been emphasized in a previous chapter England had been touched by the same movement, but touched only The eager hopes, the universal ideas that embraced all humanity, the fierce fanaticism of France were known to very few in England The wide influence of Wesleyanism was a force that made the spread of revolutionary ideas impossible in just those classes that were most revolutionary in France

III

The history of the foreign relations of Great Britain can easily be told in relation to the growth of the Empire 'It is characteristic of the century that it can be so Foreign and imperial history told, for Colonial and Indian questions appealed to the statesmen of this time more strongly than any other issue, and there was hardly a war fought during these hundred years in which imperial considerations did not play a primary or at least an important secondary part France had a strong hold, in some ways a stronger hold than Great Britain, upon both India and America, and it was the rivalry for these distant possessions which brought Great Britain into antagonism with France in nearly every war that was fought throughout the century

The period opened quietly George I and his Whig Ministers had their hands full with domestic difficulties The throne had to be protected against the assaults of the House of Stuart, the country had to be conciliated to Hanoverian rule by peace and light taxes Walpole, too, who ruled England for many years during the reigns of the first two Georges (he became "Prime Minister" in 1721 and fell from power in 1742), was Walpole and France the most pacific of statesmen, and was in no way attracted by the glamour of imperialism He entered into very close relations with Fleury, the minister of Louis XV, and sought to establish what we should now call an *entente cordiale* with France We have already seen what he did for the development of our parliamentary system He was an excellent financier and concerned before all things to conduct the affairs of Great Britain on a sound business footing He was himself incapable of idealism and enthusiasm, and he

did not see the importance of these qualities in others. But there was much in England that was not in sympathy with Walpole for reasons both good and bad. Especially many thought that his foreign policy was unworthy of the greatness of England. In 1739 there came a quarrel between Great Britain and Spain, which turned on the limited War with right of trade with the Spanish colonies, which had Spain been given us by the treaty of Utrecht. To Walpole the affair seemed a petty one, unworthy to cause the death of a single Englishman. But the military enthusiasm of the governing classes flared up, and Walpole was forced to declare war against Spain.

Before that had well begun there came in 1740 the question of the Austrian succession. Walpole was still pacific, but was driven from office in 1742, and, as we have seen, The war of Great Britain joined in the struggle as an ally Austrian of Austria and an enemy of France. The war Succession reflects little credit upon the arms or policy of Great Britain. We rendered little help to Maria Theresa in her life and death struggle with Frederick the Great. Against the victory of Dettingen has to be set the defeat of Fontenoy (1745). It seemed indeed that the disaster of Fontenoy might shake the crown from the head of George II. The supporters of the House of Stuart were still a force in the land; they still held the doctrine of the divine right of hereditary kings, and hated the revolution of 1688, and the Hanoverian kings who ruled as a result of it. Charles Edward, the grandson of James II, better known to history and romance as the Young Pretender, landed in Scotland, raised a fine force of highlanders, occupied Edinburgh, and marched on London. It seemed for a moment as though the country were incapable of resistance, and he made his way, without serious opposition, to Derby. Failure. But then the hopeless nature of his enterprise of the became apparent. The defenders of the Hano- Jacobites verian monarchy had been taken by surprise but now gathered to resist him. He retired with all speed into Scotland, and was there crushed in 1746 at the battle of Culloden. The expedition had shown rather the unpreparedness of the

British government than the strength of the supporters of the Stuart cause

The war of the Austrian succession was, as we have seen, only the prelude to a fiercer and greater struggle in which we now see clearly that the existence of the German Empire and of the British Empire was at stake. And it seems a strange paradox, since the Great War of 1914-1918, that these two empires, which were then engaged in a struggle so furious and deadly, each assisted the other to gain the first and decisive steps towards power. Great Britain had no fondness for Prussia and no hatred for Maria Theresa, it was the rivalry with France for the colonial Empire which decided her action. War had already begun in India and in Canada before Europe was engaged in actual fighting.

The war which was to be one of the most successful in the annals of the British fighting forces, opened badly. There were disasters in India, in America, in Germany, and even at sea, where the British navy was thought to be invincible. But in 1757 a strong government was established under the joint direction of Pitt (afterwards the Earl of Chatham), whom we will henceforth call by his later title) and Newcastle. Newcastle was chiefly concerned with domestic affairs, Chatham devoted himself wholly to the conduct of the war. His is the most romantic figure among the statesmen of England, and he fastens our attention all the more because he is so great a contrast to his age. The political society which surrounded him feared and despised enthusiasm, valued only material success, condoned financial corruption, and moved along well-worn paths by the help of tradition and custom. Chatham stood apart, incorruptible, original in his ideas and methods, and in consequence difficult to work with, endowed with an eloquence perhaps the highest that the British Parliament has known, loving justice and liberty for their own sakes, and fascinated by the vision that he had caught of the Empire that Britain might win in the East and the West. Enthusiastic himself, he had a singular power of inspiring enthusiasm in others. No one, it was said, ever went into his private cabinet without coming out a

braver man. But his power did not end with words and ideas, he showed also great executive capacity. He saw the road to victory and induced the nation to follow it. By strongly supporting Frederick the Great of Prussia in Europe he could give France plenty of occupation there, and meanwhile, preventing with the British fleet the despatch of French reinforcements across the seas, could make sure of securing ultimate victory in America and in India.

The plan carried his country forward to a great triumph. English troops co-operated with the Prussians in defeating the French in Europe. The British navy established its control of the seas by the battle of Quiberon Bay in 1759. Clive had gained the battle of Plassey in 1757, which laid the foundation stone of British dominion in India. In 1759 Wolfe's victory at Quebec carried the British far towards the dominion of Canada. Hardly any campaigns have altered the course of the history of the world more than these. While we admire the skill with which they were conducted and believe that the result was favourable to progress and civilization, we must deplore the bitter and quite unjust hatred of France that was engendered by the struggle, sentiments from which Chatham himself was by no means free. If the *entente* with France so happily inaugurated by Walpole had been continued what woes and wars might not have been avoided for both countries!

Before the end of the Seven Years' War, the accession of George III had produced a great change. The Prussian alliance was abandoned, Pitt was driven from office, and George III made his great experiment in the art of "being a king." A new ministry under his favourite, the Marquis of Bute, brought the war to an end in the Peace of Paris (1763). Contemporary opinion thought that Great Britain had not gained so much as she might have done, but she had gained enormously. The words of the treaty do not represent the real gains. A British North America, and British control of India, were the real results of the war, though in both countries the future had great surprises in store.

IV

Great Britain possessed then, in 1763, a great Colonial Empire, but it was not by any means so extensive as that of Spain or of Portugal. We know how little the Empires of these two States have profited them and how very little of them they still retain'. If the history of the British Empire has been different, it is partly the consequence of the sharp lesson which the statesmen of Britain received soon after at the hands of the American colonies.

The revolt of the American colonies cannot be called inevitable, unless all human events are qualified by that adjective. It was a case where wise statesmanship at a critical juncture might have altered the whole course of history.

That colonies necessarily revolt when they are strong, and become independent as soon as they can manage their own affairs, was a view widely held in the eighteenth century, and one that is probably true with regard to the old colonial system, which regarded the colonies as the possessions of the mother country, to be administered for her own advantage, but the experience of the British Empire during the great war of 1914 has shown that colonies with five times the population which the English colonies in America possessed during the War of Independence, show no desire to break away from the home land, but rather display an eager and tenacious loyalty, and a readiness to spend life and money in the defence and the unity of the Empire. It is liberty which has worked this miracle. And if the statesmen of the eighteenth century had realized this, it is probable that the American revolution would have been avoided. For the Americans were generally loyal, they had co-operated eagerly in the Seven Years' War, in spite of the blundering folly of the British Government, a very large number remained devotedly loyal to the end of the War of Independence. Some British statesmen—Chatham and Burke especially—were anxious to try the effect of liberty and confidence, but other views prevailed with King and Parliament.

In their Declaration of Independence, the United States of America declared "The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states" Hardly any student of history in Europe or America would be found to accept that statement now George III was a man of second-rate intelligence, with a sensitive conscience and a strong sense of duty The revolt of the colonies was not the result of "tyranny and usurpation," but of the conflict between the system of colonial government prevailing the world over, and the growing strength and aspirations of the Americans; it was the result, above all, of lack of imagination in the politicians of Great Britain, who controlled her destinies at this crisis

The
grievances
of the
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colonists

The quarrel found its occasion in the expenses incurred by Great Britain in the Seven Years' War That war had been fought largely in the interests of the American colonies, to secure them from the threat of the French in Canada, and to break through the barrier which the French were trying to establish between Canada and Louisiana along the line of the Ohio and Mississippi, which would have cut the English colonists off from the lands of the centre and the west There seemed a case for making the Americans pay some part of the cost of a war from which they had profited so much The Americans replied that they had already contributed their fair share to the expenses of the war, and they protested strongly against the claim of the British Parliament to enforce any taxation upon them We will not follow the course of this controversy We may note instead the different views that were held by the chief politicians of England To George III the issue seemed simple The Americans were his subjects, and they must be taught to obey The Tory party was generally with him, and he found his chief agent in Lord North, who was Prime Minister during the course of the war The Whigs were for the most part favourable to the claims of the Americans During the short Whig

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Lord North
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ministry of the Marquis of Rockingham (1766), a real and successful effort at conciliation was made. The real intellectual force in the Whig party was to be found in Burke, who was a failure as a politician, but who as a thinker has left a permanent mark on the convictions of Englishmen, and whose speeches have passed, as no others in the English language have, into the literature of the country. He implored the House to abandon its prejudices against the Americans, to see them for what they were, Englishmen with many of the characteristics of Englishmen intensified, and to drop all attempts at taxing them, while still maintaining the theoretic right of Parliament to do so. Chatham took, as he often did, an independent and personal line, and refused to co-operate with either party. He praised the Americans for "setting a just value upon that inestimable blessing, liberty", he declared that Parliament had no right to tax the Americans, and that the attempt to do so was tyranny, but he protested with horror against the rupture of the bonds that bound them to Great Britain, and declared himself ready to maintain at all costs "the superintending power and control of the British legislature". It is not easy to make out exactly all that Chatham would have done, but he would have abandoned all attempts at coercion, and would have trusted to the spontaneous loyalty of the Americans to maintain the connection with Great Britain. It is probable that his trust would not have been vain.

When war came in 1774, the British Government expected the easy victory which numbers, wealth, and the control of the sea seemed to promise them. And though the Americans found in Washington a man pre-eminently fitted to conduct their defence, a man who plays in America a part very closely analogous to the part played by William the Silent in Holland (though Washington was a much greater soldier than William the Silent), it is hard to believe that they could have been victorious, if they had not found foreign support. But France saw with delight the opportunity of paying off old scores and after the Americans had declared their independence, she came to the

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side of the new Republic. The war went nearly everywhere against the British, the fleet failed them for a time, General Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown (October, 1781), and though the British gained a great naval victory over the French after this and held Gibraltar against all attacks, there was never any chance of the re-conquest of the United States.

It was a victory that had far-reaching effects. If the American colonies had remained in connection with Great Britain they would have been great, prosperous, and probably in the end united, but they would have been far more English and far less European than they actually are. For the United States, though English will always be the language of North America, have become representative of nearly all European countries. It is the people of Europe who have on this new soil entered on a new life. The United States of America are Europe with a fresh start. Upon England, too, the issue of the contest in America had important effects. It altered entirely the ideas of the British government in colonization. Coercive methods were abandoned. For long it seemed that the idea of a colonial Empire would have to be abandoned too. But the nineteenth century found a new and much more secure basis in the freedom and independence of what are no longer called colonies but dominions, and the successful resistance of the United States has contributed not a little to this happy result. Lastly, the light of liberty which was held up in America was soon flashed back from France. The spectacle of the Republic, which had declared that "governments exist for the security of the Life, the Liberty and the Happiness of the people," victorious in its struggles with Great Britain, was a powerful influence on the thought and the imaginations of Frenchmen, and was among the causes which carried her forward to her own Revolution. The statue of Liberty that stands at the entrance to New York harbour, facing Europe and holding her light aloft, is a symbol of a great fact in history.

V

The failure of the attempt to coerce the American colonies entailed the failure of George III's schemes at home. Parliament was restored to its position as the one base of political power. In the younger Pitt—the son of the Earl of Chatham—a statesman rose who, while he rested his power entirely on the support of Parliament, made himself also acceptable to the king. He was a great contrast to his father, with none of the romantic quality which we have noted in him. He was an excellent speaker, but rarely rose to eloquence, a careful and methodical man of business, an excellent financier with a strong leaning to free trade. He seemed likely to make a name in history as a reforming statesman, for he reorganized the government of India, introduced financial reforms, and arranged a commercial treaty with France that removed many barriers to trade between the two countries, attacked the slave trade, and did not reject the idea of reforming Parliament. But the French Revolution, and the war against it, divided his career into two widely different parts and made of him pre-eminently a minister of foreign affairs and war, who devoted the rest of his life to fighting against the Revolution and the power of Napoleon which grew out of it.

The feeling of England was at first generally favourable to the Revolution. We had fought against the French monarchy for many generations and we were not sorry to see the outbreak of a movement which would certainly change it and seemed likely to weaken it. The usual charge brought against the French was their slavish devotion to their kings, they seemed in 1789 to be imitating what had been done in England in 1688. So while the poets acclaimed the new movement as the harbinger of an era of peace, harmony and prosperity, the politicians of England generally welcomed a movement which seemed likely to remove a cause of unrest from Europe. Burke alone thought from the beginning that there was in the French movement a

spirit that was quite alien from that of the English Revolution, and was more likely to bring a sword than peace

War between Great Britain and France came in February, 1793 Could it have been avoided? A difficult question which we are bound to ask England and nearly War with all the civilized world have accepted much of the France in principles of the French Revolution An alliance 1793

or an understanding between Great Britain and France would have possibly saved the Revolution from its worst horrors, and Europe from a quarter of a century of war There were statesmen on both sides of the channel who thought that some such alliance was possible But from an early date the violence of the Revolution shocked the conservative instincts of England and the treatment of the king completed the alienation Commercial opinion (and that was throughout the eighteenth century one of the strongest influences on English policy) was frightened (though without any real cause) by the "opening of the Scheldt," which meant the re-estab-lishment of Antwerp as a great port and a rival of London The open- ing of the Scheldt.

Pitt, with more justice, denounced the act because it violated promises made in treaties, and pointed to a declaration of the French Republic, that it would help any nation that rose against its government, as a proof of the dangerous designs that it cherished The execution of the king brought matters to a head and war was declared

The course of the long war has been traced in the last chapter It is only necessary here to say a few words about Great Britain's part in it For a long time the part that she played

on land was by no means creditable to her Her The part of Great Britain in the great war armies were ill prepared and ill commanded Pitt quite miscalculated and prophesied that the war would be ended in "one or two campaigns", and

only gradually did Great Britain come to realize the efforts that she would have to make The early expeditions of the British armies to the Low Countries were conspicuous failures, and made men think that Great Britain was not more efficient than she had been during the American War But in spite of the ineffectiveness of the British army, the influence of Great Britain was from the first

of the utmost importance. It was exercised through three channels: the diplomacy of Pitt, whereby coalition after coalition was built up; the wealth of England, which often alone kept continental armies in the field; and the navy, which, in spite of dangerous mutinies, maintained its supremacy throughout.

The Peace of Amiens in 1802 gave Great Britain a breathing space and nothing more. Pitt had temporarily retired from office, in consequence of Irish troubles, which will soon be glanced at, but the renewal of hostilities brought him back again. He gave courage to England in face of Napoleon's threatened invasion, and the spirits of the people were raised by the news of Nelson's crowning victory of Trafalgar. But that battle did not mean to contemporaries all that it does to us. Pitt was overwhelmed by the news of Ulm and Austerlitz, and died in January, 1806.

We must not follow the ministerial changes that followed his death. Fox, his great Whig opponent, succeeded for a time and hoped to establish peace and good relations with Napoleon, but died in September, 1806, after all his hopes had failed. The ministers chiefly responsible for the conduct of the war and its

successful conclusion were Canning, sometimes regarded as Pitt's heir, a Tory of an original stamp who was foreign minister from 1807 to 1809; and Castlereagh, who conducted the foreign policy of England during the last stage of the war with great skill and sureness of judgment. Two features marked the remainder of England's war against

Napoleon. First it developed a bitter commercial war. Napoleon, despairing of successful naval action, thought to bring the "nation of shopkeepers" to its knees by excluding all British commerce from Europe. The attempt failed, and was met by the British blockade of the coasts of Europe, so far as they were in the power of Napoleon. Next, the British army at last began to play a part as efficient as that which the navy had played from the beginning. The Duke of Wellington was the great agent of the change; Spain was at once the training ground of his armies and the scene of some of

his greatest triumphs. Readers must be referred to the last chapter for an account of the way in which his action in Spain co-operated with the struggles of Austria and the resistance of Russia in 1812. He took a large share in the first overthrow of Napoleon in 1814, and a still greater share in the second of 1815. When Europe was at length restored to peace there was no greater name than Wellington's, and the tenacity and final success of Great Britain had established the reputation of her people and of her type of government in the admiration of the peoples of Europe.

VI

It remains to notice certain other events that have been left on one side in order to complete the narrative of the struggle with Napoleon.

Ireland had been passing through a time of civil war and revolution, to explain which we must glance back to the beginning of the century. After the conquest of Ireland by William III and Marlborough, Ireland Ireland passed without power of resistance under the rule of Great Britain, though a Parliament was still maintained at Dublin. But in this Parliament only Protestants could sit, and in the elections only Protestants could vote. A series of laws, which follow pretty closely the lines of the laws by which France had crushed the Huguenots in the reign of Louis XIV, oppressed the Catholics and drove them from the land and from all office. National feeling seemed broken, and little resistance was made. The Roman Catholic Church was the only force that still kept alive the tradition and the nationality of Ireland. It is during this period that the Irish language was largely replaced by the English in the speech of the peoples. But during the American War the Irish saw their opportunity in the troubles of England. A movement for legislative independence was inaugurated among the Protestants of Ulster, and soon spread to the rest of Ireland. Large Grattan's bodies of volunteers were organized and armed, it Parliament was impossible for the English Government to refuse permission, when it was itself unable to protect Ireland

against a possible invasion. These volunteers, thus constituted, proceeded to make demands, first, for free trade with England, and then for legislative independence. Grattan was the great spokesman of the movement in the Irish Parliament. He carried, in 1782, a motion affirming the right of Ireland, "to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of Ireland." The English Government was in no position to resist, and the legislative independence of Ireland was conceded. The independent Parliament of Ireland is usually known as Grattan's Parliament.

The Independent Parliament of Ireland showed many good qualities. Protestant though it was, it gave the vote to Roman Catholics (1793). But it was thoroughly corrupt, worse even than the contemporary English Parliament, and, as it had no control over the administration of the country, it acted without responsibility. The social and agrarian condition of the country was full of abuses. And the influence of the French Revolution produced a new movement for complete independence that should be won by armed revolt. A rising broke out in 1798, and though "1798" it received only feeble support from France, it was not suppressed until much blood had been shed, and bitter hatred left behind.

Pitt believed that the separate Irish Parliament was a constant threat, which was especially dangerous while a foreign war was raging. He proposed that the Irish Parliament should be merged in the British as the Scotch Parliament had been merged in 1707. Bribery played a great part in inducing the Irish Parliament to yield, and Pitt also promised that he would introduce a measure granting Roman Catholics the right to enter Parliament and to hold all offices. Persuaded by these different influences, the Irish Parliament passed the proposed measures and the Act of Union was passed in 1800. But the measure of Catholic Emancipation, which might have worked on Irish opinion with a healing and reconciling power, never found its way on to the Statute Book. The fault was almost entirely that of King George III. His intellect had already given way, and he was

on the verge of another attack of insanity. He declared that his coronation oath did not allow him to grant the proposed privilege to Roman Catholics, and Pitt, out of compassion to the king, promised not to bring the matter forward again, and resigned his office as Prime Minister, because he could not fulfil the hopes he had held out to Ireland. It was an act which saved his own honour, but did not appease Ireland. The history of Ireland is a history of missed opportunities, and the year 1800 marks one of the most unfortunate

The war against the Revolution had been accompanied by measures of harsh repression against those (and their number was large) who felt and expressed sympathy for the French and their ideals. The country saw in England any suggestion of reform a proposal that might bring England to a Revolution of the French type and establish a Reign of Terror. All proposals for the reform of Parliament were therefore laid aside, though Pitt had himself been at one time their advocate. In order to deal with possible rebellion the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. The Seditious Meetings Bill did not allow political meetings of more than fifty people without the presence of a magistrate. The meaning of treason was enlarged so as to include the expression of opinions hostile to the government. Newspapers were brought under a severe censorship, in Scotland there were some cruel punishments for the selling of books and the utterance of opinions. England was saved from similar scenes by the open administration of the law and the jury system. The country generally was with the government and acquiesced in their measures. Towards the end of the war there was great distress and unrest among the industrial classes. There were riots (known as the Luddite Riots) which were specially directed against the new machinery that had been introduced into the wool trade. When the Battle of Waterloo at last gave the country a sense of security, the pent-up passions and aspirations soon showed themselves again.

The foreign possessions of Great Britain had made considerable advances since the outbreak of the war in 1793. The Treaty of Vienna recognized the right of Great Britain to the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and certain of the West

Indian Islands The possessions of the East India Company had advanced and its power increased, in spite, or because of, the attacks of the French The British Government began to take a more direct part in the government of the great peninsula, but few or none as yet guessed what destiny was in store for the governors and the governed

Growth
of the
Empire

The volumes in the Political History of England dealing with this period are by I S Leadam (1702-1760), W Hunt (1760-1801), and C G Brodrick and J K Fotheringham (1801-1837) There are detailed histories by Stanhope (1715-1783) and by Lecky (to 1800) the latter specially valuable for Irish history Massey's *History of England* deals with the whole reign of George III Macaulay's *Essays* are specially valuable for this period There are short and excellent biographies of Burke by Morley, of Chatham by F Harrison, and of Pitt by Lord Rosebery The short histories of Ireland by O'Connor Morris (1 vol) and of Scotland by Hume Brown (3 vols) are useful The short history of the *United States of America* by Channing is an excellent summary The War of American Independence is excellently handled in a number of volumes by Fiske

CHAPTER XVII

Reaction, Revolution, and Reaction again

WHEN the exile of Napoleon had relieved Europe from the pressure which he had exercised for so many years, the chief desire of the diplomatists who met at Vienna was Reaction so to order European affairs as to make the out- after break of another revolution for ever impossible 1815

The Revolution seemed to them a mere rebellion against authority, and they were blind to the passionate hopes of a better and juster social order that were at the bottom of it These ideas would come to the surface again by and by, and work as powerfully as ever, but for the present Europe desired above all things peace and order, and the diplomatists who met at Vienna were little more than the instruments of

Reaction The whole map of Europe lay before them, and nearly all its frontiers needed consideration and readjustment. No task of such magnitude had been attempted by any body of diplomatists since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

France returned almost exactly to the frontiers of 1792. Some wanted to take from her all the lands west of the Rhine,

Results of the Congress of Vienna which had once been a part of the empire, and were still largely inhabited by Germans, but the proposal was resisted by the Duke of Wellington.

The problem of the future of Germany was more difficult. An intense spirit of nationality had been roused by the struggle against Napoleon, and there were many who

Germany hoped that a free, united, self-governing Germany might be built up by the diplomatists at Vienna.

But those hopes were disappointed. The old decrepit empire was not restored, but the new system was from the first weak, unpopular, and clearly not destined to a long life. Thirty-nine sovereign princes and free cities were recognized. To this number had the three hundred and fifty, which had been recognized by the Peace of Westphalia, been reduced. These

The Germanic Confederation thirty-nine States were to be joined together into the perpetual "Germanic Confederation" under the presidency of Austria for the purposes of military defence. Of the German states included in this confederation (omitting Austria for the moment) Prussia was

far the most powerful. She had arisen from her degradation with a more vigorous national life than she had ever possessed. She abandoned certain of her Polish possessions, but she

Gains of Prussia. received in exchange important territories on the Rhine and the rich lands of Swedish Pomerania, on the Baltic coast, which she had coveted for so long. The great majority of her inhabitants was now German, and thus Prussia became the leading German power. Next to

Bavaria Prussia in importance came Bavaria. She had been for long the favoured ally of Napoleon, but she lost nothing at the peace. She was the Catholic and south German rival of Protestant and north German Prussia.

No country had suffered so severely at the hands of Napoleon as Austria, but it was Austria and her great statesman

Metternich, who played the leading part in the Congress of Vienna. She lost Belgium, but that loss was richly compensated for by the gain of Venice, Lombardy, Illyria, and a portion of eastern Bavaria. But it must be noted how large a proportion of these possessions consisted of non-German lands. The Austrian Emperor ruled over some twenty-eight million subjects, but of these only about four millions were Germans. The rest were a strange mixture of races, languages, and religions, Bohemians, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Servians, Roumanians, held together only by their subjection to the emperor. The territories of the house of Hapsburg had never been so compact or defensible, but her preponderant non-German population made it impossible that Austria should ever be willingly accepted by Germany as her leader and representative. Moreover the reaction reigned at Vienna in every sense: art, literature, freedom of thought, religious life, all died or decayed under the *regime* of coercion. Music alone flourished.

Other points about the changes introduced by the Congress of Vienna must be briefly noted. Italy was divided into many states, but was largely controlled by Austria. Venetia and Lombardy were ruled by Austria. Italy Modena, Parma, Tuscany submitted to rulers of Austrian birth, and were in close alliance with Austria. The Pope came back to the states of the Church. The Bourbons were restored to Naples and Sicily. In the north-west, Piedmont and Savoy were in the hands of the King of Sardinia. We shall see in the next chapter how his descendants became kings of a united and independent Italy.

Belgium was united to Holland and was ruled over by the King of Holland. The arrangement was suggested by the desire to have a strong state on the northern Belgium frontier of France, but the two peoples were and distinct and in many respects hostile, and the Holland new arrangement soon broke down. Norway was joined to Sweden and placed under the rule of Napoleon's old marshal, Bernadotte, who ruled in Sweden as King Norway Charles XIV. this union lasted longer than that of Belgium and Holland, but broke down in 1905 when

Norway became a separate kingdom. The conquest of Finland by Russia was recognized, and this union, despite frequent attempts on the part of the Finns to break away, subsisted until 1914.

The years from 1815 to 1830 were very quiet in comparison with what had gone before and what were soon to follow. The four chief powers of Europe—Austria, Russia, Prussia, Great Britain, entered into an alliance to maintain the treaties of Vienna, and agreed to hold meetings of Plenipotentiaries every four years to discuss difficulties that arose. This was sometimes called the "Holy Alliance", and the aim of some of its members was quite as much to repress revolutionary movements as to maintain the terms of the great peace. France joined the alliance in 1818. But soon it was seen that the alliance of the five powers would not avail to repress all such movements. As the memories of the great war began to grow dim the ideas of the Revolution began once more to find expression. The first trouble came from Spain, where the restored Bourbons were ruling in the old evil way. In 1820 the army broke out into Revolution, and declared that the free constitution which had been established in 1812 must be

renewed. The king had to yield, and measures were taken against the Church and the monasteries. But the reappearance of liberal ideas south of the Pyrenees was alarming to north and central Europe, and especially to France. The movement was crushed and the autocracy restored. But the revolution produced important permanent results in a distant part of the world. Spain still

possessed a vast colonial empire in central and south America. The colonies refused to accept the restored autocracy and were supported by Great Britain under the leadership of Canning. By the year 1830 eight republics had arisen into being, of which the chief were Mexico, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres. They have had a stormy existence, and have perhaps not yet reached a settled constitutional life, but there can be no doubt that they are destined to play an important part in the future of civilization.

Before the Spanish trouble was settled the Greek question emerged Greece, the first home of organized freedom in Europe, had known no liberty for many centuries, though in her mountains a wild independence had always been maintained by men who were half patriots and half banditti The population had suffered terribly, and had seen swarm after swarm of barbarians pass or settle Greece had suffered much more than Italy from foreign invasion, but the Greeks had always preserved a confused memory of their greatness, and a form of the Greek language was still spoken by the people The way had been prepared by secret societies, and insurrection began in 1821 It roused the passionate enthusiasm of all lovers of liberty Byron gave to the movement his support and his life The Greeks fought with furious but ill-regulated courage and the Turks took, when they could, a horrible revenge If left to itself the revolution would have been crushed, but Great Britain took an eager interest in it from the first, and at last joined with Russia in the coercion of the Turks In 1827 the Turkish fleet was entirely destroyed in the Battle of Navarino, and the independence of Greece was secured.

There was one characteristic of the Greek rising full of significance for the future of Europe It was a national rising against a foreign yoke There had been many national risings in earlier years, but the "national idea" was to play so preponderant an influence in European history for the next half century that it deserves a moment's examination It is almost vain to ask "what constitutes a nation?" It is not identity of race, for that is to be found nowhere It is not a common language, nor a common religion, nor even common interests All these are important, but all together do not necessarily make a nation, and a strong national feeling can exist where some of them are absent A nation exists where the sentiment of nationality exists, and the sentiment of nationality is the result of many forces, and, above all, of historic development In process of time, and as the result of common interests and common struggles, and usually of a common language, certain

large groups of men come to feel themselves closely bound together. They call themselves a nation. And in the nineteenth century the feeling and the belief grew that all who belonged to the same nation should form a single state, and that each nation should manage its own affairs and be freed from the dominion of any foreign nation. This idea of nationality was a vague and a highly revolutionary one. It demanded a new grouping of powers—the union of some, the disruption of others. Germany and Italy moved, in the strength of this idea, towards union, Austria by the same force was threatened with dissolution. The Poles, the Irish, the Belgians, the Finns, the Norwegians, put forward inconvenient claims.

In the year 1830 there came two successful revolutions in Western Europe. First came the Belgian Revolution. We have seen that Belgium had been joined to Holland and placed under the rule of the King of Holland by the Congress of Vienna. It would have been difficult in any case to maintain the arrangement, for the Belgians were more numerous than the Dutch, they were Catholic, and they spoke for the most part a language akin to the French, and yet they were in all things subjected to the harsh rule of the Protestant Dutch. All parties among the Belgians joined in the movement, which the Dutch were quite unable to beat down. Belgian independence was declared, and Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was set up as the first king of independent Belgium.

A more serious movement broke out in France. The restored Bourbon monarchs (Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, until 1824, and then his brother Charles X) had tried to rule as though the French Revolution had never been. Promises to rule constitutionally were withdrawn or broken, and in 1830 the *ordonnances of St Cloud* removed almost every vestige of free popular government. Paris, as in the days of the great Revolution, took the lead in the protest that arose. Thiers, a young journalist, vehemently attacked the ordinances. Charles X, alarmed by the memories of the past history of the French monarchy, made little resistance. He fled to England, and Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was proclaimed king.

The new monarchy entered upon a policy widely different from that of the restored Bourbons. There was to be constitutional government, friendship with England, the and peaceful development of the industry and Orleanist commerce of France. Much was done to realize monarchy these ends. The land was covered with railways and telegraphs. Joint stock companies were founded. The occupation of Algiers provided a new opening for French commerce. The wealth of the country increased greatly, and the people were fairly prosperous. And yet another revolution followed in eighteen years.

Two chief forces worked for the overthrow of Louis Philippe. First national pride. France had not forgotten the great days of Napoleon, when her soldiers had been the arbiters of the destinies of Europe and the loss and agony which had accompanied all that military glory were growing dim. In comparison with those great and glorious days the *regime* of Louis Philippe seemed mean and contemptible. France, men said, had become a satellite of Great Britain, and dared no longer have an opinion of her own. Thiers wrote the history of Napoleon in a tone of eulogy. When in December, 1840, the body of the great emperor was brought from Saint Helena, where it had been first buried, and placed amidst splendid ceremonies in the Hôtel des Invalides at Paris, many felt that the dead warrior would be strong enough to drive out the Orleanist government.

Side by side with the growth of Imperialist feeling there was an intellectual movement which may be compared with that which preceded the Revolution of 1789. Again the new men fixed their eyes on a distant goal and pro- ideas claimed the possibility of establishing a social system, juster and happier than the present one. Fourier and Saint Simon each brought forward an elaborate scheme of social reconstruction. But for the immediate future the most important fact is that Louis Blanc began to preach socialism. Louis in something like its modern form. His ideas were Blanc. not new. They had appeared during the great Revolution, and may be traced back to the philosophers of Greece. But

now they were proclaimed more definitely than ever before, and urged home with fervid eloquence Louis Blanc painted the social condition of France in colours of terrible blackness, he demanded that the State should provide work for all "we will work and live, or we will fight and die," was the watchword he gave to the people of Paris

The opponents of the government concentrated their attention on the need of an electoral reform which should give to the people the reality of power Louis Philippe Second might perhaps have overcome the movement by Republic force or conciliation, but he gave way at once and took refuge in England A republic was declared, and Louis Blanc and his ideas had great influence with the new government (1848)

But the new government was in grave difficulties almost from the first The elections to the Assembly gave a majority National of moderate opinions, but in Paris "National workshops Workshops" were opened where any one could get work for the asking But those who managed them were not anxious that the experiment should succeed, the expense was great and the work done of no value, and in June, 1848, the workshops were closed There came at once a fierce outbreak from the workmen of Paris, influenced as they were by the teaching of Louis Blanc The streets were barricaded and there was fighting for four days, but the insurrection was suppressed by Cavaignac with much bloodshed, and over two thousand men were banished to Algiers The assembly was re-established in power, and it proceeded with the work of constitution-making But it was popular with no party and bitterly hated by the Parisian workmen

It was now that Louis Napoleon saw his chance He was the son of Louis Bonaparte, who had been made King of Louis Holland by his greater brother He was now the Napoleon eldest representative of the Napoleonic dynasty He had been banished from France, and had twice made rather foolish attempts to raise rebellion He was now President of the Republic elected to the Assembly and soon, when it had been decided that the President of the Republic was to be appointed by the vote of the whole people, he

became a candidate for the Presidency. His name was the great argument in his favour, and the other candidates were for various reasons unpopular. He was supported by five and a half million votes, all the rest of the candidates together did not get two millions.

His progress from the Presidency to the empire was even more rapid than that of his uncle from the Consulship to the same dignity. The new assembly had passed a bill Napoleon's restricting the franchise, and Napoleon made himself *coup d'état* the champion of manhood suffrage and demanded a revision of the Constitution that should allow the President to hold office for a second time. The assembly did not support the proposed change by a sufficient majority. Napoleon thereupon carried out a *coup d'état*. He arrested the leaders of the opposition and dissolved the assembly. His opponents were arrested by thousands, and by thousands they were sent into exile. He then submitted to the people the outline of a constitution. A legislative body elected by universal suffrage was to vote the laws and the taxes, and there was to be a President elected for ten years. Seven millions and a half voted for the new Constitution. A little over half a million voted against it. It was a great and powerful position that he had thus won, but he felt that a higher title and a hereditary position would be safer. The nation was asked to express its wish as to whether he should be emperor or no, and in 1852, 7,800,000 votes were given for the new title, and only 233,000 against it. So Napoleon reigned as ^{The} Emperor the Emperor Napoleon III. He had eighteen ^{Napoleon} years of rule before him, at first much brilliant ^{III} success, then alternations of triumph and defeat, and then a catastrophe unexampled in history for its completeness.

These years of revolution and reaction in France saw analogous changes sweep over the centre of Europe.

"Nation awakens by nation,
King by king disappears"

sang an English poet, full of republican enthusiasm. All over Europe kings seemed in flight. We have seen how Louis Philippe fled from Paris, Frederick William IV had to

escape from Berlin, Ferdinand I found his capital of Vienna dangerously revolutionary, King Ferdinand II was deposed in Sicily, Pope Pius IX fled from the insurrection of Rome. It seemed to many that it was all over with monarchy in Europe. But then reaction set in at every point, and the returning tide brought back the exiled kings (except in France) to their thrones, some for their lives, some only for a few years.

All these risings aimed at the establishment of a free constitution and the satisfaction of the national ideal. The attempt at social reconstruction, so prominent in Paris, played quite a subordinate part elsewhere.

Metternich had tried to keep the population of Austria asleep and he seemed to have succeeded, but there was dangerous stuff fermenting even in Vienna. And except Metternich himself there was no element of strength in the Austrian government. The king was of weak intellect, and Metternich had not trained any one to succeed him. In 1848 a rising in Vienna forced Metternich to resign and soon a Constituent Assembly met which abolished all "feudal abuses," and proceeded to draw up a constitution for all parts of the empire.

But, while Vienna was disturbed, a fierce revolt had blazed out in every part of the Austrian Empire. Bohemia had for some time been recovering her national self-consciousness and chafing under Austrian rule. She now demanded that the original native population, the Czechs, should be put on an equality with the Germans, and later a Pan-Slavist congress was summoned at Prague to consider the future of all the Slavonic peoples. The troubles in Hungary were far more serious. There the Magyar population was surrounded by many alien races (Roumanians, Poles, Servians, Croatians), but the Magyars were the dominant race. In a Diet held in 1848 they demanded many reforms, and ended by declaring that Hungary was completely independent of Austria, though they still professed allegiance to the emperor. The position they demanded was what would have been known half a century later as Home Rule. Kossuth,

hitherto known chiefly as a journalist, was the inspirer of the movement

The Italian possessions of Austria had risen in armed rebellion at the same time. They were rich, fairly prosperous, and provided Austria with a large proportion of Revolution her revenues. The idea of Italian unity and in Italy independence had been planted by the victories and the policy of Napoleon, and was fostered by the enthusiastic writings of Mazzini, who founded the organization of Young Italy to realize it. Milan rose in insurrection and drove out the Austrians, Venice declared herself a republic. The insurgents were clearly unequal to a struggle with the forces of Austria, but they hoped for the hearty support of Piedmont and Sardinia, and they knew that the Austrians were hampered by troubles at home. Success flattered them at first, and the Austrian armies were driven from Milanese territory.

The Austrian Empire seemed on the eve of dissolution. It was saved by the bitter conflicts of the subject nationalities among themselves and by the readiness of Russia to lend a hand in the suppression of revolution at her frontiers. It was a gain when the Emperor Ferdinand abdicated and was succeeded by Francis. Joseph then aged eighteen. The real management of affairs lay with Schwarzenberg, a man of great energy and determination. First the Bohemian movement collapsed. Then came the turn of Northern Italy. Reinforcements were sent forward to Radetzky, the Austrian general, and Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, showed the greatest incompetence in the handling of his troops. He was beaten in July, 1848, at Custoza, and crushed in March, 1849, at Novara. Thus Austria won back her Italian possessions. The King of Sardinia abdicated and was succeeded by his son Victor Emmanuel, who steadily maintained the liberal constitution which had been promised by his father, and lived to reign as king over United Italy. Hungary still remained in fierce rebellion against Austria, but here too the scales turned decisively against the movement for constitutional liberty. There was no help to be hoped for from Vienna, for there the arms of the reaction had triumphed and the liberals had been severely

punished In April, 1849, Kossuth (probably unwisely) declared the complete independence of Hungary, not only of the Austrian constitution, but of the Austrian Emperor Some early successes flattered his hopes, but the Serbs, the Croats and the Roumanians supported the Austrians against the Magyar claim to ascendancy Hungary. Kossuth was no soldier, and he quarrelled with the army leaders The decisive blow came from Russia, for the Czar readily joined his troops to the Austrians for the suppression of the revolutionary movement In August, 1849, the Magyar army capitulated at Villagos Kossuth escaped into exile Utter ruin seemed to have fallen upon his cause Yet in less than twenty years his countrymen were destined to win a great part of what they were then struggling for

The course of events in Germany was more intricate There was in Germany as a whole, a constitutional movement which aimed at giving to all Germany an efficient federal constitution, and there was in Prussia a violent revolutionary movement Both gained some early victories and then both failed

The German Confederation which had been established in 1815 was not a government, but rather a meeting of diplomats incapable of any action unless they were unanimous It was dominated by Austria, and had done nothing for German interests in any shape The successful French Revolution of 1848 roused new hopes, and the many revolts with which Austria was troubled did not permit her to make any resistance With wonderful ease a German Parliament was called at Frankfurt to debate on a new constitution for Germany

Liberalism anticipated an easy triumph, but the situation was not so favourable as appeared at first sight The Parliament could debate, but it had no power to decide Whatever decision was taken would have to be referred to the constituent states of Germany And when the debates began the difficulty arising from the nature of the Austrian State grew larger and larger Was Austria to be a part of the new German State, or was she not? If she was admitted, were all the twenty-eight million subjects of Austria to be represented in the German

Parliament or only the four millions of Germans? There were difficulties every way. If all Austria were admitted, the Parliament would not in any way satisfy the national aspirations of Germany, if the non-Austrian German populations of Austria were excluded, the Austrian Emperor would probably not permit his German subjects to come in, if Austria were excluded altogether she would be an enemy of the new constitution and a very dangerous one.

It was decided in the end to face the hostility of Austria and to exclude her. In face of strong opposition the majority declared for the re-establishment of the German Empire. The head of it was to be called "The Emperor of the Germans" his office was to be hereditary. Then it was determined to offer the new title and office to Frederick William IV, King of Prussia (March, 1849).

We shall see that Prussia had been struggling with a revolutionary movement of her own. Her king was not at all inclined to accept this dangerous title, offered him by an assembly which had a doubtful right to make the offer, and carrying with it the certain hostility of Austria. He refused, and with his refusal the whole movement collapsed. The Parliament remained in existence a little longer but with rapidly dwindling numbers, and was soon dispersed by the King of Wurtemberg. The national ideals of Germany were not to be realized by parliamentary methods.

Prussian affairs passed through an even more stormy crisis. There was no constitutional life in the country. The strong centralized government lay in the hands of the king. There was universal military service and a well-developed system of education, but in appearance little political interest in the nation at large.

In 1847 the king called an assembly (the Land-tag), to which he proposed to give the right of voting taxes and advising on all legislative matters but no final powers. "According to the law of God and the country," he said, "the crown must reign according to its free decision, and not according to the will of majorities."

When the Assembly demanded fuller powers it was dismissed. But at this juncture the news of the revolution in Paris threw Berlin unto fierce excitement. The streets were barricaded, there was hard fighting in the city, and the king gave way. He declared that Prussia was henceforth to be absorbed in Germany; and allowed a national assembly to meet for the elaboration of a constitution. It set to work in a liberal spirit and decreed the abolition of feudalism and many measures of personal liberty.

But the news from Vienna, where the revolution had been crushed and the city re-taken by the Imperial forces, soon encouraged the King of Prussia to strike at the assembly, whose disorderly debates were becoming a scandal. He appointed as his minister, Brandenburg, a man of strong reactionary views. The Assembly was called on to leave Berlin, and on its refusal it was dispersed by the military and dissolved. In December, 1848, a constitution was given by the king on his own initiative, and the power of the crown was safe.

Victorious over the revolution at home, Frederick William IV was not inclined to accept the crown of Germany, which was offered to him by the revolutionary party at Frankfurt, and we have seen how he rejected what was called "a crown of mud and wood." But he tried to give to Germany a new organization. The German governments were invited to Berlin with a view to the formation of a new federal constitution. From the first it was evident that the new government would not include all Germany, for both Austria and Bavaria declined to join, and Hanover and Saxony soon retired. In the end a federal constitution under the presidency of Prussia was drawn up for north Germany, and some twenty-eight states accepted it. Austria answered by re-establishing the federal assembly at Frankfurt. Thus Germany had two rival assemblies, dominated by the two great rivals among the German States.

Collision was likely from the first. A quarrel with regard to Hesse Cassel brought matters to an issue, for while the Prussian federal assembly took the side of the "Estates"

of Hesse Cassel its government appealed to the Diet at Frankfurt. Perhaps Prussia might have won in the conflict, but the statesmen of Prussia and her king were timid and nerveless, and Austria was represented by Schwarzenberg, who was ambitious, clear-sighted, and energetic. Some think that if he had lived he would have done for Austria what Bismarck afterwards did for Prussia. The question of Hesse Cassel was referred to the arbitration of the Czar, who gave every point in favour of Austria. Then Schwarzenberg demanded under threat of immediate war the dissolution of the federal assembly set up under the auspices of Prussia and the recognition of the Federal Diet which had been re-established by Austria at Frankfurt. Prussia cast away all thoughts of resistance and purchased peace by an abject surrender of every point at Olmutz.

Austria seemed to dominate Germany, and Prussia's hopes of supremacy seemed doomed to failure. Yet a very different destiny was in store for both countries, and the memory of the humiliation at Olmutz counted for much in the determination of the next generation of statesmen to give a new character to the policy and action of Prussia.

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CHAPTER XVIII

The Winning of Italian Unity

In 1852 Napoleon III seemed the strongest power in Europe. His character and abilities were at present undetermined, but his success was unquestionable. The people of France by an enormous majority had declared that they rejoiced to see another Napoleon ruling in France with the old title of Emperor.

Comparisons between the two Napoleons naturally suggested themselves, but, though there were resemblances in their careers and their positions, the contrasts in the character and capacity of the two men were great, and were made clearer by the lapse of time. **Position and prestige of Napoleon III** Napoleon III had great abilities, but he had nothing of the iron will and tenacity of purpose of Napoleon I, little of his wide survey of politics and society, nothing at all of his military genius. He was by nature amiable and idealist, a dreamer of dreams that sometimes turned into realities, often brilliantly clever as statesman and diplomatist, but usually without a sufficient grasp of realities and the possibilities of the actual world. His position was like that of the first Napoleon in one respect. He could not sit still. He held power on condition that he dazzled the eyes of his countrymen by adventure, novelty and victory. A commonplace policy would undermine his power. Failure would hurl him at once from the throne.

The first great European problem with which he had to deal arose out of the weakness of the Turkish power. Since the seventeenth century the decline of Turkey had been continuous. Nor is there any mystery about its causes. In Europe the Turks were a minority, who held their dominion by the power of the sword, and made no effort to conciliate or to absorb the populations they had conquered. They despised the characteristic features of European civilization and made no effort to assimilate it. Turkey was a military despotism, without industry, without science, without liberty. Generalizations in history are dangerous, but it is safe to say that such a state can never be stable. The Ottoman Empire had never recovered from the naval defeat which she had received at the hands of the Spaniards and their allies at Lepanto in 1571, the disaster of the siege of Vienna in 1683 had shown that on land her methods were no longer capable of success against those of Western Europe, the rise of Russia in the eighteenth century had established upon her northern frontier a strong, hostile and aggressive neighbour, who was impelled against Turkey by difference of

The disintegration of Turkey

Threatening neighbourhood of Russia.

religion and by the fact that Constantinople controlled the exit from the Black Sea, whose northern shores Russia possessed

The Crimean War seemed to spring from a trivial incident. The "orthodox" and the "Catholic" Christians in Jerusalem quarrelled as to the use of the holy places, and their quarrel involved Russia and France, who were their official protectors. Under cover of this quarrel a Russian envoy at Constantinople demanded that Russia should be recognized as the Protector of the Christians in the Turkish Empire. This claim, if conceded, would have led to perpetual interference, and Turkey, with the support of the English ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, refused. Conferences at Vienna proved unavailing to settle the questions at issue, and in 1853 war was declared. France and England joined next year in support of Turkey, England following what she believed to be her commercial interests, and inspired by jealousy and fear of Russian expansion, Napoleon III, anxious to signalize his power by some striking military exploit

The Russians invaded the Balkan provinces, but encountered a more stubborn defence than they had expected, and soon withdrew as the army of the Western Powers approached. Peace might perhaps have been made then, but it was determined by Napoleon III and the English Ministry to invade the Crimean peninsula, where they anticipated a speedy victory and the annihilation of the naval power of Russia. But instead of the short struggle that was expected, there came a fierce and expensive war of nearly two years' duration. The Russians were beaten in the battle of the Alma, and perhaps an immediate attack might have led to the fall of Sebastopol, but the Russians were given time to prepare their defences, and Sebastopol under Totleben they made a vigorous resistance. The English, French and Turks were reinforced by an Italian army of the King of Sardinia, they were not defeated in any battle, but they suffered terribly from lack of food and clothing from the severities of winter and the ravages of disease. Sebastopol was never cut off from communication with Russia, and held

out until September, 1855. Then the war soon came to an end. By the Peace of Paris the Russian claim to a protectorate over the Christians of Turkey was abandoned, Paris Russia promised to keep no warships in the Black Sea, the integrity of Turkey was to be recognized. But the treaty was written in sand. The decadence of Turkey was not checked by it, and Russia before long advanced again both by sea and land.

The Crimean War had few of the characteristic features of the wars of the nineteenth century. National sentiment counted for little. It was an affair of diplomacy and the balance of power, and resembled in this respect the wars of the eighteenth century. But Napoleon III had soon to deal with a question of a different type.

The revolutions of Italy in 1848 had all been failures. The reactionary power of Austria seemed more firmly planted than ever. From the Alps to the Ionian Sea the governments with one exception were alien in race, interest and feeling from the peoples. Italy seemed more than ever "a mere geographical expression." But Italian sentiment had not in any way declined, nor were the people of Italy more reconciled to the Austrian supremacy. Moreover there was, as has been said, one notable exception. Piedmont and Sardinia, to the oppressive and alien character of the governments. Piedmont under the King of Sardinia possessed a government which was really popular, and which had retained liberal and representative institutions in spite of all temptations to abandon them. The King, Victor Emmanuel, fell short of greatness, but he was a brave soldier and an honourable politician. He was brilliantly served by his great minister Cavour, and Cavour perhaps the most interesting figure in European history since the Battle of Waterloo. He was a passionate Italian patriot, and typically Italian in the subtlety of his policy, but he knew England and the English constitution well, and was proud to be called a statesman of the English type. He gave his whole life to the cause of Italian liberty, and in pursuit of his aim was ready to sacrifice even his honour.

Cavour could count on two forces—the sentiment of Italy and the army of Piedmont, but they were not by themselves enough to drive the Austrians from Italy. It was Cavour and to France that he looked for effective help. Napoleon III had genuine sympathies with the cause of Italian liberty, and he was anxious for another opportunity to exhibit his diplomatic talents and the power of France. In July, 1858, he had a famous secret interview with Cavour at Plombières. It was agreed between them that, if war came between Austria and the King of Sardinia, France would come to the help of Victor Emmanuel with promises of France. an army of 200,000 men. Austria was to be driven from the whole of Italy. Lombardy, Venetia and the Duchies of Central Italy were to be annexed to Piedmont. France was to receive as a reward, Savoy and Nice, the original home of the house of Savoy.

It was now Cavour's business to provoke a war. Napoleon hesitated at the last, but Cavour held him to his engagements. "I will fire the powder," he said, "and when Italy runs with blood you will have to march." The provokes military preparations of Italy alarmed the Austrian government, and they sent an ultimatum demanding the reduction of the Piedmontese army to a peace footing. So Cavour heard the sound of the cannon that he had so passionately longed for. To the Parliament he said, "This will be the last Piedmontese Parliament. The next will be that of the Kingdom of Italy."

Napoleon III was true to his engagements and himself led the French army into Italy. In June, 1859, he won, after hard fighting, the battle of Magenta, and at the end of the month defeated the Austrians again at Magenta. Solferino, after a contest that was doubtful for a long time, and cost the French 12,000 soldiers. Cavour was full of eager hopes for the complete realization of his wishes. But then suddenly Napoleon III made overtures to Francis Joseph of Austria, and signed peace. His motives are somewhat uncertain. He had been impressed by the slaughter of Solferino, and was not altogether confident in the military power of France. He had found too, that the Italians

were not so willing to be guided by him in everything as he had hoped. Perhaps most important of all there were threatening movements in Germany, where Prussia "betrayal" was mobilizing her army. So peace was made, of Napoleon III Lombardy and Parma were to be joined to Piedmont, Venice was to continue under Austrian rule. Vague hopes were held out of "an Italian federation under the Presidency of the Pope." Victor Emmanuel saw no means of resisting the proposals of Austria and France, but Cavour, indignant at what seemed to him the betrayal of Italy, resigned and retired to private life.

Cavour had despaired too easily. The spontaneous movement in Italy towards unity and liberty was too strong to be repressed by the Emperors of France and Austria. The Duchies of Central Italy—Parma, Modena, Tuscany, together with the Romagna, the northern portion of Papal territory—expelled their rulers and drew together. Their movement was at first republican and was not supported by Piedmont, but though the revolted states mustered an army of 25,000, they would clearly be unable to stand alone against the Austrian and Papal armies. They offered themselves therefore to Victor Emmanuel. He made pretence of refusing, but Cavour was recalled to the Ministry. He saw at once that the new move could only succeed if it were supported by France. He

Savoy and Nice joined the national cause. He negotiated with Napoleon III. He offered to cede to him Savoy and Nice, which had been promised at Plombieres, but not handed over, because Napoleon had not himself carried out his promises. The French emperor was further appeased by the promise that a popular vote should be taken and that the centre of Italy should not be attached to Piedmont unless the population made it clear that such was its wish. In the plebiscite a huge majority (386,000 against 15,000) voted for annexation. In April, 1860, Victor Emmanuel opened the first Italian Parliament at Turin, though that city was not to be the final capital of Italy. The history of the past marked Rome as the only satisfactory capital, but Rome was still in the hands of the Pope.

A great step had been taken towards Italian unity, but much remained to be done. The Papal States were seething with revolutionary ideas, but Pope Pius IX, after what his early disappointments with liberalism, had remained become wholly opposed to political freedom and to be done Italian emancipation. In the South the kingdom of the Two Sicilies lay under the oppressive and retrograde rule of the Bourbon King, Francis II. The population was ignorant and superstitious, but vague ideas of change and of liberty were stirring there. There had been already several attempts at rebellion, but all had been beaten down.

The next stage in Italian liberty was connected not so much with the name of Cavour as of Garibaldi. He was the soldier-hero of the cause, while Cavour was its statesman, Garibaldi's and Mazzini its evangelist. Garibaldi had distinguished himself in the campaign of 1859 at the head of his regiment known as the Hunters of the Alps. Now he prepared for a greater adventure—one of the most amazing in history. With the connivance of Cavour he left Genoa in May, 1860, with 1072 volunteers. Many of them were drawn from his old regiment, many were ardent patriots, some were adventurers of a more ordinary type. Their red shirts were their only uniform, and these were soon famous throughout Europe as a symbol of national liberty.

He landed at Marsala and, seeing that under the circumstances the only road to safety lay in audacity, he marched on Palermo. Had the enemy shown courage and endurance, Garibaldi could hardly have avoided defeat. But Palermo was surrendered and the whole island was in his power. That was much; but more was to follow. Relying on the disaffection of the Neapolitans, Garibaldi crossed the straits in August, 1860. Francis II made at first no attempt at resistance. With ludicrous ease Garibaldi and the nationalist movement became masters of the kingdom.

Cavour watched Garibaldi's triumphal progress with mixed feelings. He rejoiced in the overthrow of the Neapolitan government, but he was uneasy as to what Garibaldi might do. For his adventurous and explosive temperament was

a great contrast to the subtle and restrained character of Cavour. He feared that Garibaldi might refuse to bring Naples and Sicily under the same government as the North of Italy, he feared the establishment of a republic in the South, and he feared foreign complications, if the red shirts invaded the Papal States, as they declared that they intended to do. Cavour determined to anticipate Garibaldi in the Papal States. He secured himself from foreign interference by another interview with Napoleon III. Then he raised an army and invaded the possessions of the Roman See.

The Papal government was not a good one, and it was not popular with the inhabitants, but it had been recognized by all the powers of Europe, and Cavour's attack was the most flagrant possible violation of international right. Victor Emmanuel had no grievance against the Pope, but he professed anxiety as to the Papal army of 20,000 men, and demanded its disbandment. When the Pope refused, the Italian army invaded and defeated the Pope's forces at Castelfidardo. Then the victorious troops pushed on towards Naples. Cavour could now meet Garibaldi on something like equality, and probably he had been wrong in mistrusting him. Garibaldi handed over his new conquest to Victor Emmanuel. But soon disputes arose between the king and his great soldier. Garibaldi believed that the services of his red-shirted volunteers had not been sufficiently recognized and rewarded. He differed from the policy of Cavour both in domestic and foreign affairs, and he retired in a bitter mood from the king's service (1860).

A huge stride had been made towards the achievement of Italian unity. But a fragment of Papal territory, including Rome, still remained outside and was secured by a French garrison, and Venice and the land as far west as the Adige were still in the power of Austria. Both were won for Italy in the next ten years, but with the annexation of Naples and Sicily the heroic period of the struggle for Italian liberty was at an end. Cavour died in June, 1861.

The new state was faced with many difficulties, economic,

political and religious A large part of the population was not ready for the self-government which had been won so easily

Venetia was won to Italy in 1866, but though the Italians fought for the great prize it was not won by their arms Italian history here comes into close relation with The story of Germany, which we shall trace in the winning of Venice. next chapter It is enough to say here that Prussia

in 1866 was about to enter on a war with Austria, and was looking round for allies If Italy attacked the Austrians in Venetia that would necessarily distract and weaken the efforts of the Austrians in Germany Bismarck secured the alliance of Victor Emmanuel by a promise that he would make no peace with Austria, which did not include the surrender of Venice to Italy

In April, 1866, the war began We shall see in the next chapter how Prussia overwhelmed her enemies and established herself as the leader of Germany without a rival The war Very different was the fate of her allies in Italy of 1866

The Italians had no statesman to take Cavour's place Garibaldi gained little success with his irregular troops in Tyrol The Italian armies were without capable commanders, without proper equipment, without discipline, without a definite plan of campaign They were beaten at Custozza, where it cannot be said that even their military honour was saved Even their navy was beaten by the Austrian fleet, which had been held in supreme contempt Had the war proceeded without foreign interference the outlook would have been very black for Italy But the Italians had detained a large Austrian army in Italy, and thus rendered invaluable service to Prussia Bismarck praised "the immutable loyalty of Italy," Venice and was himself faithful to his promises Italy secured for did not get all she wanted Southern Tyrol still Italy by remained "unredeemed," but Venice was declared Prussia free to make her choice By 640,000 votes to 60 she declared for union with the Italian Kingdom

Rome still remained unconquered and the Roman problem was a more complex one than the Venetian problem had been Rome, under Pius IX, became more Italy and and more rigid in her challenge to all liberal ideas Rome In the Bull *quanta cura*, published in December, 1864, it was

declared to be an error ' that the Pope can or ought to be reconciled to progress or liberalism or modern civilization ' The king of Italy had promised France to respect papal territory, and when in October, 1867, Garibaldi, with a body of volunteers, invaded, relying on the assistance of a Roman insurrection, he was easily defeated by a French force, which hurried to the assistance of the Pope The French government declared that it would never allow Italy to occupy Rome

In 1870, while Europe beyond the Alps was occupied with the coming of the huge conflict between France and Germany, The Rome was the scene of a great Œcumenical Vatican Council Just as the temporal power of the Council. papacy was about to pass away, and the very day after war had been declared between France and Germany, the infallibility of the Pope, " when he speaks *ex cathedra* and defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the whole Church," was solemnly proclaimed

The disasters of France led to the withdrawal of the French garrison Italy declared herself no longer held by her promise Occupation to respect papal territory An Italian army of Rome crossed the frontier and occupied Rome on September 20, 1870 The people were asked to vote as to their future, and by 133,000 to 1500 they decided for union with the Italian Kingdom In vain the Pope launched sentence of excommunication against the invaders in vain he repelled all overtures for a reconciliation The capital of Italy was moved to Rome The dream of a long line of Italian patriots from Dante to Mazzini had come true Italy was free from the foreign yoke, united under a single government and mistress of her destinies

Fyffe's *Modern Europe* and Alison Phillips' *Modern Europe* give an excellent account of these events For more detailed treatment, Stillman's *Union of Italy*, Bolton King, *History of Italian Unity*, Countess Cesaresco, *Life of Garibaldi*, Marriott, *Masters of Modern Italy* The whole story, from the side of France, is admirably told by Pierre de la Gorce in his *Histoire du Second Empire* Nearly the whole story is covered by G M Trevelyan's three volumes *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*, *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*

CHAPTER XIX

The Unification of Germany and the Foundation of the German Empire

THE revolutions of 1848 had done nothing for the cause of German unity. The bold words of the Prussian King, Frederick William IV, had ended in smoke. The Prussian effort to form a national government for all Germany had failed as disastrously as the Parliamentary movement at Frankfurt. The high hopes and noble struggles of the year of revolution had, however, by destroying illusions prepared the way to more practical measures, and the humiliation of Olmutz impressed on Prussia the need of a different policy and different preparations if she were to succeed in her competition with Austria for the headship of Germany.

Mental trouble necessitated the retirement of Frederick William IV in 1857. Prince William ruled as Regent until 1861, when he succeeded to the throne as King William I. He had been known in 1818 as a strong opponent of liberal ideas, and when they triumphed for a time in Berlin he withdrew to England. But English constitutional ideas had no attraction for him. He was always primarily a soldier and upheld the prerogatives of the crown in their extreme form. "I am the first king to mount the throne," he said, "since it has been supported by modern institutions, but I do not forget that the crown has come to me from God alone." His reign was full of the conflict between the Divine right of kings and modern institutions, and in the end it was the Divine right of kings that won.

The road to German unity under Prussian leadership was prepared by financial and military organization. After 1815, Prussian territory was divided into many parts, with a very long total frontier, and many internal customs barriers. The early effort of Prussia was to establish complete internal free trade within her own

dominions, to lower the frontier dues so as to decrease the inducement to smuggling and at the same time to levy heavy transit dues on all goods passing through Prussian territory. This was the first of the famous Zollvereins. These arrangements were a great advantage to Prussia, and a serious drawback to the commerce of other parts of Germany. Other similar customs unions were in consequence formed—a South German Union consisting of Bavaria and Wurtemberg; and a Central German Union in which Hanover was the most important State. There was for a time great jealousy between these three unions, but the advantages of free trade throughout Germany were great and obvious. The greater part of the South German union joined Prussia in 1834, and Hanover came in in 1854. So that long before German political unity had come within the range of practical politics very nearly the whole of Germany had achieved a commercial unity from which Austria was excluded.

The military reorganization of Prussia was equally important, though it attracted at first little attention in Europe. It consisted largely of the complete realization of the ideas of the reformers who after 1806 had worked for the overthrow of Napoleon's power in Germany. The war minister of William I. was Roon. He shares with Moltke and Bismarck the credit for the measures whereby Prussia rose to be the most powerful State in Europe. Universal military service for three years was enforced with a further obligation to serve with the reserve (Landwehr) for four years. At the same time new weapons (especially the needle gun) were being adopted, and drill and tactics were being carefully studied.

The crown of Prussia in pursuit of its aims came at once into vehement conflict with the representative house. The "progressive party" in 1861 held a large majority and demanded that the ministers of the crown should be responsible to the assembly, according to English example, that the upper house should be reformed, and that the obligations of military service should be limited to two years. When the king refused to yield, the Assembly

refused in September, 1862, to pass the money vote for the army. It seemed that the king must give way, he even thought of abdicating, but it was at this juncture that he appointed Bismarck to be his chief minister and thus opened a new chapter in German history, the most important probably since the death of Charlemagne.

Bismarck was sprung from the landed aristocracy of North Germany. He had been a member of the Prussian Assembly during the period of revolution, and had been utterly opposed to any unification of Germany through the absorption of Prussia into Germany. "Prussians we are," he said, "and Prussians we will remain." He had already been employed in important diplomatic missions, and had upheld the claims of Prussia against Austria with unflinching firmness. When he entered on his new post at the request of the king he promised "that he would never yield." The administration in Prussia was not dependent (as in England) on the representative assembly, but lay entirely with the king. Bismarck had no belief in votes or debates. "The decision on these principles," he said on one occasion, "will come not by Parliamentary debate and not by majorities of votes. Sooner or later the God who directs the battle will cast his iron dice."

According to all English experience Bismarck was engaged in a hopeless struggle. William I and Bismarck faced the representatives of the people as Charles I and Cromwell faced the Long Parliament, as Louis XVI and his ministers faced the States-General or the Legislature. But William I was not destined to take a place in history by the side of Charles I and Louis XVI. His reign was to show one of the greatest of all triumphs of royal power over Parliamentary opposition. The different result is to be explained partly by the special history and circumstances of Prussia, partly by the powerful personalities of the Prussian king and his minister, but chiefly it was success in war and foreign affairs that saved William and Bismarck, as it was failure in these departments which did much to drag to ruin the monarchies of France and England.

Bismarck came into conflict with the Assembly with regard

to an insurrection of the Poles against Russian rule the
 Conflicts between Bismarck and the Assembly progressives sympathized with the Poles, but Bismarck co-operated with the Russians in the suppression of the rising. He showed his strong opposition to Austria by refusing even to consider a proposal which she brought forward for a new constitution for Germany. But the most important question that he had to deal with was the future of Schleswig-Holstein. This was in its details one of the most obscure diplomatic questions that ever occupied the attention of the governments of Europe, but it led directly up to Bismarck's greatest triumph.

Frederick III, King of Denmark, was also Duke of Schleswig and of Holstein, but there was no constitutional union between the Kingdom and the Duchies. The Schleswig-Holstein question and, as Frederick III was childless, his death would raise the question of the future of the Duchies in an acute form. In Schleswig and perhaps in Holstein no woman could succeed and no woman could transmit a right to succeed, while in Denmark there was no such "Salic Law". The question, even if the decision had rested on legal right, was an obscure one. But Bismarck was determined to make it a question on which "the God of battles should throw his iron dice."

Should the Duchies be permanently incorporated with Denmark? Should they be entirely taken from Denmark and incorporated with Germany? Should Schleswig go to Denmark while Holstein remained German? The future of the Duchies? These different solutions found support both in and out of Germany. Bismarck gradually came to see a plan by which the Duchies might be incorporated neither with Germany, nor with Denmark, but with Prussia.

The King of Denmark before his death passed a decree giving separate treatment to Schleswig and to Holstein, and almost incorporating Schleswig with Denmark. The Incorporation with Denmark Diet at Frankfurt protested, for there was still a Diet, though its power was small in comparison with that of Prussia and Austria. It declared that the Duchies should be occupied by a German army pending their decision.

and they leaned to the idea that both the Duchies should go to the Duke of Augustenburg, a claimant with a strong title. The occupation of the Duchy of Holstein took place. But Austria and Prussia were not in the least inclined to leave the matter in the hands of the Diet. They declared against the King of Denmark's action and prepared to drive him out of both Duchies by force. He appealed in vain to Europe. There was much sympathy with him nearly everywhere, War but no one was ready to help. He determined,

however, not to withdraw without a struggle. But the Danish armies could effect nothing against the joint forces of Prussia and Austria. The little state was soon helpless in their hands.

The victory of the two great powers had not made the future of the Duchies much plainer. Bismarck's own mind was made up. He had not driven out the King of Denmark to give the Duchies to the Duke of Augustenburg. With or without a pretext they

must come to Prussia. Austria, on the other hand, supported Augustenburg's claims, and the chief members of the Diet were also in favour of that solution. There were attempts at compromise that had a temporary success. The King of Prussia would have welcomed a road to peace. Bismarck was determined on war. A protest against the action of Austria in bringing the question before the Diet led to the outbreak of hostilities.

All technical questions of legal right fell now into the background. The war was not for the Duchies any longer. Prussia was to fight Austria and the rest of Germany for supremacy in Germany. Bismarck secured, as we saw in the last chapter, the valuable support of Italy whereby a large body of Austrian troops was kept south of the Alps. In Germany Prussia was practically without allies, and had to face Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover, as well as the smaller German powers.

The war which followed was the first intimation to Europe of the new power that had risen in her midst. It was also the first war in which modern methods were used. Moltke directed the campaign by telegraph from Berlin, and only came to the front when the decisive blow had to be delivered. The

Occupation of the Duchies by Prussia and Austria.

War between Prussia and Austria.

railways were largely used for the movements of the troops In comparison with this war the campaigns in the Crimea seemed to belong to a bygone age

Prussia won a rapid and a complete success The Hanoverian army was defeated at Langensalza in June, as it strove to effect a junction with the Bavarians and Austrians The war of 1866 The decisive battle came at Koniggratz in Bohemia in July Victory hung in the balance for some time But the arrival of the Crown Prince, Frederick, decided the issue in favour of Prussia, and brought the war to an end It was one of the shortest of wars, but few wars have decided more momentous issues

The statesmanship of Bismarck after the war was as remarkable as the military skill of Moltke during the campaign , and it prepared the way for the next great triumph of Prussia Austria was excluded from all participation in German affairs The states of the north which had resisted Prussia—Schleswig, Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel—were annexed to Prussia, so that her territory now stretched without serious interruption across the north of Germany The Southern States—Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden—were treated with great consideration The Southern States There was a real danger that they might come to see in Prussia their most dangerous enemy, and be driven in consequence into alliance with France Napoleon III was eagerly working for such an alliance But Bismarck treated them generously, emphasized their common German nationality and left them their independence A little later they all entered into secret treaties with Prussia, whereby they promised that in case of war they would join their forces to hers

The States of Northern Germany which still retained their independence were joined together in the North German confederation This was entirely the work of The North German Confederation Bismarck, and the later German Empire was only an expansion of it by the admission into it of the South German States It had many original features, and diverged widely from the example of the British constitution, which had hitherto been taken as a model in most constitutional experiments on the continent At the

head was the Federal Council, consisting not of elected representatives, but of envoys from the various governments of Germany, and in the hands of this council lay the control of the administration and the initiative in all legislation. Next came the Parliament (Reichstag). It was elected by manhood suffrage, for Bismarck disliked the Reichstag liberalism of the German middle classes and thought that he would find in the people a more loyal support for his schemes. It controlled finance. It passed or rejected the legislation that was initiated by the federal council, but it was not like the English Parliament, it was not a government. It did not control the ministers, and had no right of direct interference with the executive.

The administration was in the hands of the ministers, and at their head was the Chancellor. He had a power greater than that of the English Prime Minister. The ministers were responsible to him, and he alone Chancellor was responsible to the king for their action. We have to go to the Grand Vizier of Turkey or the Frankish Mayors of the Palace to find any subject with an authority so great as his. Bismarck was the first Chancellor. The war had saved him. The gravity of the issues had silenced opposition, and then the magnitude of his triumph had turned him into a popular hero.

The war had had important consequences for Austria also. It hurried on a settlement of her long-standing troubles with Hungary. The Hungarian claim for a separate Diet and government had been temperately urged by Deák, and Austria now consented. The claims made by the other nationalities were refused. But henceforth the Austrian Emperor ruled over a "dual" state. Austria and Hungary had little connection except their submission to the same sovereign.

Napoleon had seen the outbreak of the war without uneasiness, but he was alarmed to find that he could exercise no influence on the settlement which followed it. Napoleon Prussia and France were brought into clear rivalry, and in four years' time appeal was again made to "the iron dice."

Napoleon III's power seemed for some time firmly established. The industrial and commercial development of the country proceeded at a great pace. Paris was to a large extent rebuilt and became the centre of European fashion. The emperor had the warm support of the Church on the one hand, and of the commercial classes on the other. He was popular with the majority of the people of France in spite of the despotic character of his rule. The chamber was indeed elected by manhood suffrage, but it had only the shadow of power. It could initiate nothing, its debates were secret, and the electors were to a large extent controlled by the agents of the government. The Senate or upper chamber consisted of 150 men nominated by the emperor and completely under his influence. Its chief duty was to check the action of the chamber. The Council of State, consisting of the king's ministers and others whom he appointed, superintended the general administration of the State, but here, too, the emperor maintained a complete ascendancy. The ministers were directly responsible to him, and he was always "his own Prime Minister." The local government of France was controlled by his Præfects. He made unscrupulous use of the tribunals for the punishment of his political opponents, and kept strict watch on the press and on education in all its branches.

Some critics have thought that if he had kept peace he would not have lost his throne. He himself judged differently. The he believed that it was necessary "to gratify the necessity military and domineering instincts of France" of success. We have seen how large a share he took in the Crimean War and in the first stage of the war for Italian liberty, and how numerous were the military successes of France. But, though he probably won some popularity in this way, he also alienated strong supporters. The clergy in France were indignant at the alliance between their emperor and the house of Savoy, which was the great antagonist of the papacy in Italy. Europe was alarmed by his acquisition of Nice and Savoy, which seemed to indicate that he was not without the aggressive ideas of the first Napoleon.

Moreover, in 1860, he alienated the commercial and moneyed classes by signing a commercial treaty with England. Napoleon III had himself been convinced by the arguments of Cobden and his associates in the Free Trade movement, and he believed that a reduction in the duties charged on English goods would be to the advantage of French trade. On his own authority and without consulting the chief commercial houses of France, he signed the treaty. If Napoleon III was a free trader by conviction the commercial classes in France certainly were not, and they were indignant at what seemed to them a betrayal of their interests.

After 1860, Napoleon's foreign policy was never again successful. He entered in 1863 on his strange Mexican adventure. His attention had been directed to central America from an early date, and he had dreamed of cutting a canal through the isthmus of Panama. Just now circumstances in America were unusually favourable for European interference. The United States of America were in the throes of their civil war. Mexico was disturbed by recurrent revolution, and the fact that she owed money to Europeans gave an excuse for interference. The first design was for a joint occupation by England, France, and Spain. But the other two states withdrew, and France went on alone.

It was a fantastic and grandiose project. Mexico was occupied by a French force. A constituent assembly was called and a vote was procured, electing Maximilian of Austria as king or emperor. But then the house of cards collapsed. The Mexicans did not at all accept the new arrangement, and the French troops which supported Maximilian were harassed by continual guerilla warfare. As soon as peace had been restored in the United States the government of the Republic threw all its weight against the scheme of Napoleon, and that was decisive. The French troops were withdrawn. Maximilian was betrayed by his officers and shot. The adventure left behind it nothing but a record of dismal failure and serious financial loss.

The ground was shaking under Napoleon's feet. The clergy and the commercial classes were both largely alienated.

from him It was necessary to look for support elsewhere He proposed to make large concessions to liberalism He took as his chief minister, Olivier, who had been a republican and a strong opponent of Napoleon's Empire. power What was practically a new Constitution was promised The elected Assembly was to have the power to initiate laws, the ministers were to be responsible, the sessions of the Senate were to be public, the control of the Assembly over the Budget was to be made real Then Napoleon appealed again to the people 7,300,000 votes were given for the new Constitution, 1,500,000 voted against it

On June 30, 1870, after the popular vote had been taken, Olivier said, "On whichever side we look there is an absence of Optimism troublesome questions at no moment has the in June, maintenance of peace in Europe been better 1870 assured" Fifteen days later war was declared against Prussia in a little more than two months the second empire disappeared amidst disasters greater than Leipsic and Waterloo

The causes of the great war which broke out so suddenly are in their main features not difficult to determine Neither Causes of France nor Germany desired war But Na- the war poleon III saw that a successful war would establish his tottering power on a firm foundation He was in ill health, and neither his will nor his intelligence possessed their former strength Probably he did not wish for a war, but he did not energetically wish to avoid one On the other side Bismarck, Moltke and Roon undoubtedly desired war It would put the coping stone on all their work The defeat of Austria had established the supremacy of Prussia in Germany, the defeat of France would establish a German Empire under Prussian leadership The past histories of France and Germany seemed to require one last duel to decide the question of mastery

The excuse for the war—the *casus belli*—was a flimsy one There had been a revolution in Spain The Queen, Isabella, The had fled to France The question of her successor Spanish had to be decided Leopold of Hohenzollern, a question distant relative of the Prussian King, and a Roman Catholic, was a candidate Napoleon III protested against

the idea of a Hohenzollern mounting the throne of Spain King William acquiesced in the protest, and the candidature was withdrawn Napoleon thought he saw an opportunity of scoring a diplomatic triumph He instructed his ambassador, Benedetti, to demand of the Prussian King that he should promise "to oppose the candidature of Leopold, if it were ever raised on a subsequent occasion" Benedetti met the king at Ems the king declined to give the promise, but repeated his approval of the withdrawal of Leopold's candidature The interview had passed without heat, and the affair seemed at an end

Yet this affair lit the flames of a furious war The king telegraphed to Bismarck giving an account of what had occurred Bismarck was at first depressed by the The Ems news, for it seemed to remove any possibility of telegram. immediate war, he thought even of resigning his post But then he modified the wording of the message that he had received from the king, and published it in such a form that it seemed to imply that the Prussian King had been insulted and had broken off all communications with France A loud cry for war was raised in Germany, and was answered by a shout of defiance from Paris

France anticipated victory with confidence, but she won no battle and hardly an engagement, and had to drink the cup of humiliation to the dregs The German prepara- Compari-
tions were perfect, while on the side of France all son of the
was disorder The German armies were largely forces
superior in numbers to those of France, and were under the
sole guidance of Moltke, while in France there was neither
unity of command nor any plan of campaign The German
artillery, too, was far superior to that of France

Half a million of German soldiers poured over the French frontier in three main armies The campaign was conducted with a rapidity unexampled in history, and the The
chances of France vanished almost with the first Disasters
incidents of the war MacMahon was defeated at of France.
Worth with huge loss Then Marshal Bazaine's army was
beaten and shut up in Metz The emperor and MacMahon
(though the emperor had ceased almost to control events)

decided to retreat on Paris and fight the decisive battle under the fortresses of the city. But the empress believed that a retreat would bring about the fall of the dynasty, and the army changed its direction and marched again towards the enemy in the hope that it might effect the relief of Metz. They were caught by the German army at Sedan on September 1, 1870 and after losing 17,000 men Napoleon surrendered with 85,000.

At the news of this disaster the empire was at once abolished in Paris, and a Republic declared. The government rested chiefly with Jules Favre (foreign affairs) and Gambetta (home affairs). The new Republic might have had peace if it would have consented to the surrender of Strassburg and Metz, but it proudly answered that it would not surrender an inch of French territory, and the war therefore went on. The German army gathered round Paris and the long siege began. No one has denied the heroic endurance of the Parisians during the siege, but no one in Europe would stir a finger to help them, and on January 28, 1871, the end came. Paris capitulated. By the treaty of Frankfurt Strassburg and Metz were surrendered with Alsace and Lorraine to the Germans, a huge war indemnity was paid.

Before the end had been reached the Prussian King had become the German Emperor. He was acclaimed by his new title in the great hall of Versailles, which had been the scene of the glories of Louis XIV, while Moltke and Bismarck stood by his side.

The war was over, but before France could go forward to the task of social and political reconstruction she had to pass through another terrible experience. A National Commune Assembly at Versailles seemed hesitating as to whether France should be a republic or a monarchy. Paris meanwhile was fermenting with the wildest revolutionary ideas. Socialism, communism, anarchism were preached with a violence all the greater because of the recent disasters. Paris proclaimed "the Commune"—declared, that is to say, that she would have a government of her own and go

her own way independently of the rest of France. The movement was partly a republican protest against the monarchical principles which were supposed to be held by the Assembly at Versailles. It was determined that the movement must be suppressed at all costs, and the armies of France were turned against the capital of France. The German troops, not yet withdrawn, looked on at this ghastly epilogue to the war. After much fighting and great cruelty on both sides the Commune was crushed.

Amidst such birth pangs was the third Republic born. There were long and fierce controversies as to the precise form it should take. Thiers was the first Republic President, but it was not until 1875 that it was formally constituted.

Fyffe, *Modern Europe*, Alison Phillips, *Modern Europe*, De la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, H. A. L. Fisher, *Bonapartism*, Headlam, *Bismarck*.

CHAPTER XX

Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century

I

WE must attempt in this chapter the difficult task of surveying the history of Great Britain in the nineteenth century and of comparing it with what we have already seen of the chief countries of Europe.

Certain characteristics of the period may be noted. (1) It has been a period of unprecedented commercial and industrial expansion. That is a characteristic of the nineteenth century the world over, but, especially during the first three-quarters of the century, Great Britain outstripped all other competitors. The Napoleonic wars had exhausted Europe to a far greater extent than Great Britain. Our soil had been free from invasion and war, and even before the Battle of Waterloo the industrial era had clearly

Characteristics of the nineteenth century

(1) Industry and commerce.

begun, but the rapidity of its advance was much greater afterwards. Inventions came in an almost continuous succession. The face of England was transformed by steam and later by electricity. (2) The constitutional life of the country had during the period moved forward to more (2) De-liberal and democratic forms. Many men in 1815 would have said that they had fought the Revolution and Napoleon in order to avoid all changes in the political life of England. But the flood could not be stayed. By the end of the century nearly the whole adult male population of the country was admitted to the franchise. At the same time the cabinet system was developed and clearly recognized as the invariable method of government. Parliament became clearly the seat of sovereignty, and in Parliament the centre of gravity moved decidedly from the House of Lords to the House of Commons. There were some who thought that these changes would entail the establishment of a republic and the overthrow of the monarchy. But the monarchy has managed to harmonize itself with the new order of ideas, and during the latter part of the century has enjoyed almost universal loyalty. The growth of the overseas Empire has made the Crown a symbol of unity more valuable than ever before. (3) In England, as in all civilized countries, a predominant feature of the nineteenth century has been the rise of social questions to an importance at least as great as that occupied previously by political controversy. This is the really new feature of the age in England, and elsewhere. Forms of government have not ceased to be important, but more and more loudly the question has been asked of them—What influence have they on the condition and life of the people? (4) The public life of Great Britain during the nineteenth century has been in comparison with most countries quiet and orderly. If we except the history of Ireland, which rarely falls into line with the history of the rest of the Empire, there have been no revolutionary outbreaks. There have been no civil wars. Party feeling has often run very high, but all parties have been agreed that controversies should be settled by methods

(3) The
rise of
social
questions

(4) Peace-
ful develop-
ment of
England.

which the constitution admits Thus Great Britain is a land of singular contrast In some respects the freest and most "modern" of States, it has also retained many of the institutions, ceremonies, and ideas of a long past age, which other countries have for the most part abandoned (5) Growth of the Empire The growth of the Colonial and Indian Empire, especially towards the end of the century, became an influence on domestic history of great importance, which seems likely to increase rather than to diminish

II

As soon as the fall of Napoleon had given Britain security the first signs of opposition to the political and social order began to manifest themselves The glory and power of Great Britain in 1815 had not brought comfort or prosperity to the labouring classes, and there were several societies anxious to bring about changes in the constitution of the country But all were suppressed, and those in authority were determined before all things to resent innovations The death of George III in 1820 produced little change His intellect had been clouded for a long time past, and George IV had neither the character nor the intelligence required to make him the real ruler of the land The Tories monopolized political power The greatest name among them was the Duke of Wellington, who, covered with glory by his peninsular and Waterloo campaigns, soon came to exercise a great influence on domestic politics Then came Canning, brilliant, eloquent, and somewhat erratic, the champion of great causes abroad, but at home hostile to all changes in the parliamentary system, Castlereagh, unsympathetic in manner, and in popular opinion identified with the cause of reaction, but hard working, efficient, and half-persuaded of the need of reform, and lastly Sir Robert Peel, whose time was not yet, but who was destined to be most important of all

The first blow for liberty and progress was struck in Ireland The conditions laid down by the Act of Union had not been changed The vast majority of the people of Ireland were

as Roman Catholics ineligible for Parliament, although they could vote in elections. The stigma thus placed on Roman Catholics was a serious grievance, and it formed a good rallying cry for all the many discontented elements in Ireland. In Daniel O'Connell Ireland had found one of her greatest leaders. His great stature, his eloquence, his audacity, even Dan his powerful voice made him the ideal representative of the Irish at this juncture. He was supported by the powerful Catholic Association, and Ireland rose in enthusiastic support of him. In 1828 he came forward as a candidate for County Clare, though as a Catholic he could not sit in Parliament. The peasant voters, who had usually voted so tamely for the candidate recommended by the Protestant landlords, found courage (though vote by ballot had not yet been introduced) to support O'Connell, and he was returned with a huge majority over his opponent. The incident might have been unimportant in itself, but it was clear that Catholic Ireland was ready to support the agitation even, if need be, by civil war. To resist would mean civil war, and Wellington had the courage to advise the House of Lords to yield. In 1829 a bill was passed putting Catholics on a level with Protestants, so far as political privileges were concerned, both in Great Britain and Ireland. A measure, which had caused panic and terror in some quarters and raised unmeasured hopes in others, had none of the revolutionary results that were hoped or feared.

But it had been a breach in the established order, a change in the parliamentary constitution. The friends of further reform were encouraged, and the Tory party was divided by its passing. There had been for some time an agitation for a more thoroughgoing reform of Parliament—an agitation which took up again a movement which had been strong in the eighteenth century, but had been pushed aside by the struggle against the French Revolution and Napoleon. Its supporters now proceeded with more confidence. The existing franchise could only be defended as part of the established political order, if that

order were to be altered in any way new methods for elections to Parliament were almost inevitable. For the Defects of the existing representative system to the distribution of population in the country. Since the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century the population had migrated largely to the north of England, especially to the industrial areas of the midlands, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Lancashire, but the thinly peopled districts of the south and west of England returned the majority of the members to the House of Commons. Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, and Birmingham were not represented.

The old system seems to us indefensible, but the struggle was long and severe. The fear of change for many years lay heavy on the minds of men. Reformers' Unions were hard at work in various parts of the country, and feeling ran high. Wild hopes were entertained of the effects which the measure would produce. The revolutions in Belgium and in France in 1830 had an effect, and this time rather in favour of change than against it. Wellington resisted as long as he could, but the House of Commons contained a strong majority for reform. If he had continued his resistance civil war might possibly have broken out. He wisely yielded, and in June, 1832, the Reform Bill passed the House of Lords and received the king's consent.

The Reform Bill of 1832 marks an epoch in our history almost as important as the Revolution of 1688, but whereas the Revolution of 1688 was complete in itself the Effects of the Reform Bill was the prelude to half a century and Bill more of sweeping constitutional and legislative changes which completely altered the political and social balance of power in Great Britain. The immediate effect of the bill was to give power into the hands of the middle classes. The working classes, whose support of the Bill had been of the utmost importance, did not get votes, and their leaders felt themselves defrauded by the Bill. The representative system of Great Britain was made more regular and reasonable. Representatives were taken away from petty and unimportant places. the franchise in the boroughs was made uniform.

and was widened in the counties The measure was regarded by most of its aristocratic and middle-class supporters as *final* no further change was to be thought of But those were right who said that the Bill would inevitably lead to other changes The arguments that carried the Bill of 1832 led ultimately to a democratic basis for the constitution of the country

III

Lord Grey, the leader of the Whigs, who had presided over the movement for reform, was Prime Minister in the first reformed Parliament with a very large majority The Tories were for the present reduced to insignificance The new Parliament passed some measures of great importance By an Act of 1833 all slaves in the British Empire were set free A new and important poor law was adopted Above all, in 1835, the Municipal Corporation Reform Act prepared the way for the development of civic life which has become so marked a feature of Britain at the present day The municipal life of England had hitherto been poor compared with that of France, or Italy, or Germany or the Netherlands Now the towns became generally self-governing communities and, though they were slow to make use of their opportunities, in course of time they did for Britain something of what the great cities of Italy and Germany did for the intellectual and artistic, as well as for the commercial, life of the State

George IV had died in 1830 William IV reigned until 1837, and that the events of the reign can be told without reference to him shows how little influence he had on the life of the nation Victoria became queen at the age of 18 in 1837

The first years of her reign were those during which on the continent the revolutions of 1848 were maturing England was not altogether undisturbed by the movement, but it came in Britain in a peculiar fashion and with hardly anything of the violence which marked the time in nearly all continental States There was

much hardship and suffering, but it was felt that the remedy lay within the framework of the constitution. Only in Ireland did the movement assume a character that threatened violent revolution.

In England the social movement had a double character. On the one side there was the genuine working-class movement of *Chartism*, which, though it was inspired by social aims, nevertheless demanded only political change. It took the form of an agitation for the people's charter, which contained five demands—manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, the abolition of any property qualification for members of Parliament, and the payment of members. There was certainly a widespread movement in favour of the charter, and the violent language with which it was recommended inspired great alarm. But the chartists found no really capable leader, and the movement died away, though it exercised indirectly considerable influence on political thought. Most of what the charter demanded has since been granted.

Side by side with Chartism, and often bitterly hostile to it, ran the agitation for Free Trade and the abolition of the Corn Laws, which by imposing a duty on all imported corn kept up the price of corn to an artificial point. The Corn Laws owed their origin to a time when agriculture was the one important industry of the country. But now the industrial towns were springing up on all sides, and the high price of food caused much distress among the artisans. Since Adam Smith, political economists had often advocated the free interchange of all commodities between State and State, and the abolition of the Corn Laws was the most urgent application of this principle of Free Trade. No movement for reform in all our history has been so well organized or so powerfully conducted as this. The great leaders were Cobden and Bright. Cobden was an unrivalled speaker of an intellectual and argumentative kind, and a brilliant exponent of financial theory; Bright had a more emotional eloquence, with which he swayed great crowds as hardly anyone else has done in England. His speeches seem likely to become a

permanent part of English literature These men passed up and down the country denouncing the Corn Laws and proclaiming the domestic prosperity and international harmony which would follow the adoption of Free Trade

The Tory ministry of Peel and the Duke of Wellington long resisted the movement but Peel's clear intellect had been gradually becoming aware that the Corn Laws were logically indefensible Then there came in 1845 a severe Irish famine in consequence of the failure of the potato crop; and yet the only corn that could be sent to the famine-stricken peasantry was at a high price because it had to pay the corn-dues Peel saw that the Corn Laws must be abandoned for Ireland and he believed that, once abandoned, they could not be recalled He took the plunge, acknowledged the debt of the country to Cobden, and with the help of his Whig opponents carried the Repeal of the Corn Laws through the House of Commons It was a step momentous for the social and economic life of England, momentous also for its political life For the action of Peel split the Tory party and indeed destroyed it What emerged and exercised subsequently a great influence on the destinies of England was a conservative party, which had none of the bitter dislike of the Tories for reform and change, but was anxious that change should be so introduced as not to threaten the country with disorder But if Peel was the creator of the conservative party he did not live to lead it He died suddenly in 1850

IV

We now come to fifteen years in British history which are largely dominated by the figure of Palmerston Certainly he does not rank among the great statesmen of our history He is not a Walpole nor a Chatham nor a Pitt. he has not permanently influenced the political life of Great Britain like Peel or Disraeli or Gladstone or Chamberlain He was neither a great scholar nor a deep thinker nor was his judgment sure on practical affairs But he has

left a name that always attracts attention. He was an eager and somewhat blatant patriot, hostile to and rather con- His foreign temptuous of the strong monarchies of the continent, policy eager to help all movements for liberty abroad, but suspicious of all changes suggested at home. But no catalogue of his opinions gives any idea of the man, he looked on politics as a sort of sport and was popular with the sport-loving English public. He gave to British foreign policy a truculent and aggressive character, which has often been attributed to it by foreigners after it has ceased to deserve it.

These fifteen years are full of wars, which have in most cases been dealt with already. There were troubles with the **Palmers-** newly-founded kingdom of Greece, an unjust and **ton's** cruel war with China, but above all there was the **wars** Crimean War, of which enough has already been said, and there was the Indian Mutiny which was even more important than the Crimean War for the British Empire. The governing power in India was still nominally the East India Company, supported and largely directed by the **Mutiny** Home Government. The army in India consisted mainly of native troops officered in part by men of British origin. The limits of British rule in India had advanced rapidly of late, Lord Dalhousie especially having annexed important native territories where there was no direct heir to succeed. After his retirement the Mutiny broke out in 1857. Its name properly describes the character of the movement, it was a mutiny of the army not a rebellion of the people. So small was the number of British soldiers in India that the position was for some time extremely dangerous. The loyalty of a portion of the army and of the chief native princes allowed the British to master the rising and to restore British rule. The immediate result was the dissolution of the East India Company and the transference of the government of India to the Crown. The chief authorities for India were henceforth the Viceroy in India and at home the Secretary of State for India.

V

Palmerston died in 1865. He had acted at home as a check on all projects of reform, and at his death a further stage in the democratization of Parliament at once took place. The Ministry was Whig and Lord John Russell was Prime Minister. Gladstone was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he introduced a Reform Bill in 1866. It encountered vigorous opposition not only from the Tories but also from the discontented Whigs, who had hitherto followed the lead of Palmerston. The government was left in a minority and resigned.

During the debate on the Reform Bill the attack on Gladstone's measure was led by Disraeli. These two were, until Disraeli's death, in constant opposition, being drawn into opposite camps by belief, temperament and aim. Our party system tends to make political contests develop into a struggle between the trusted champions of either side. Pym and Wentworth, Halifax and Shaftesbury, Walpole and Chatham, Pitt and Fox—these are names that naturally come together in history. But no pair of combatants so famous as Gladstone and Disraeli have ever wrestled in the parliamentary arena. Gladstone was a distinguished scholar of Eton and Oxford, a devout and devoted member of the Church of England, who had appeared at first in Parliament as an "unbending Tory," with a great admiration for Canning, and then had gradually become an eager reformer, first through his adherence to Peel's finance measures and later through his dislike for Palmerston's truculent foreign policy. As he grew older he grew even more ready to accept new ideals and more convinced of the need of change of a democratic kind. Disraeli was a Jew by origin, but a member of the English Church. He had been first known as an eccentric and a novelist. His early sympathies were with the radicals, but he too was drawn over to the other side, especially by his interest in foreign affairs and his desire for a more spirited policy in dealing with them. But to the

end, though he became leader of the conservative party, he was more ready for change than most of them, and spoke of himself as "educating the party" In 1866 he became

Disraeli's Chancellor of the Exchequer, while Lord Derby was Prime Minister, and he surprised his party and Bill of England by himself introducing a Reform Bill, as 1866 democratic as that which he had been instrumental

in throwing out Some of his own party protested, but the liberal opposition was bound to support him The Bill gave the vote to every male householder in the towns and to some lodgers There was also an extension of the franchise in the counties But, while a close approximation to democracy had come in the towns, the counties remained in the hands of the middle class for some twenty years longer

Let us look forward to this last extension of the franchise, though it carries us away from chronological order It was in

Gladstone's 1884 that Gladstone's ministry produced a Bill for Franchise placing the franchise in the counties on the same Bill footing as in the towns - The measure was, after

much controversy, accepted by both parties, and coupled with a Redistribution Bill, which removed some of the worst anomalies in the arrangement of seats With this measure something very close to a democratic basis for the British constitution was established So far as the male citizens of Great Britain are concerned a long controversy was practically brought to an end Already voices—penetrating and persuasive—were raised claiming for women the vote and full political rights but though these claims opened a new and important chapter in our political history they need not be considered in this book

In 1868 Disraeli, who had become Prime Minister on the resignation of Lord Derby, dissolved Parliament and appealed to the new constituencies which had been created by the Reform Bill The decision of the new constituencies was decisively against the conservatives, and the liberals came back to power with a majority of over a hundred Gladstone became Prime Minister and started at once on a course of reforms

Bills followed one another thick and fast There was in

1870 the Elementary Education Act by which Great Britain followed other countries of Europe in establishing Gladstone's a system of universal national education But administration the nation was far from realizing all that was implied in making education an affair of the State and the nation and not only of private effort and individual initiative The ballot was introduced for all parliamentary Education. elections There were important reforms in the army and in the organization of the judicature But Gladstone's name will always be most closely associated with the Irish question, and it was now that he made the Ireland first of his many efforts to remedy the grievances of Ireland and to bring to an end the difficulties and dangers into which the connection between Great Britain and Ireland had constantly brought the larger island The policy that he adopted is still a matter of fierce debate We can only chronicle the stages in it

Two sides of the Irish problem were treated by Gladstone, the one ecclesiastical, the other agrarian The Protestant and Episcopal Church of Ireland was the church of a small minority The vast mass of the people were Roman Catholics, even among the Protestants nearly half were Presbyterians and had much to complain of at the hands of the dominant Church Disestablishment of the Irish Church

A Bill introduced by Gladstone in 1869 took from the Church its official standing and its chief sources of income It was disestablished and disendowed Gladstone turned then to the problem of Irish land The Irish land question is almost the history of Ireland, from the "conquest" The Irish of the island by Henry II down to the latest date Land Bill The roots of the trouble were these (1) The landlords of Ireland were, very many of them, absentees, they lived in England and drew their rents from Ireland (2) The custom of Irish land tenure was much harder than that of the English The tenant received no compensation for improvements which he himself effected, whereas in England compensation for such improvements was secured by custom (3) The population of Ireland was so great that there was no difficulty in letting farms even at high rents and on harsh conditions Gladstone's

Bill was an attempt to remedy these abuses. Tenants who had improved their holdings were to be paid for their improvements if they were evicted, except for non-payment of rent, they were to be compensated. The tenants' lot was improved, but the country soon found how far the Bill was from finality. No stopping place was found on the road of land reform, until the peasant had been made the full owner of his land.

Gladstone's government was intent on domestic politics and was anxious above all to escape entanglement with foreign problems. It succeeded in maintaining peace, but foreign problems of great urgency presented themselves.

The Franco-German War of 1870 roused keen excitement in England, and Gladstone refused all interference. His action (or the want of it) was generally approved by the nation, but when the Great War of 1914 came there were many who thought that it would have been best if England had used her utmost efforts to prevent that great duel between two of the foremost nations of Europe from being fought out to the utter defeat of one of them.

Then a little later Gladstone submitted to arbitration the sum that should be paid to the United States of America for the depredations committed during the civil war by the cruiser *Alabama*, which had been built in England. His action was thought to be weak at the time, but no one will be found now to blame him for avoiding at any cost, but that of honour, a struggle with the United States.

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Gladstone's term of power came to an end in 1874 and a general election gave Disraeli a good working majority. It is remarkable how during the nineteenth century the tendency (there are exceptions) has been for the electorate of England to transfer its favour at a general election to the party in opposition. The votes of Ireland, Wales, and Scotland have been much more stable.

The Disraeli government was in power for the normal period, from 1874 to 1880. There was little legislation that has left

Disraeli's administration. Above all there was the Russo-Turkish War of

1877-1878, which brought the two great rivals, Gladstone and Disraeli, into sharp collision for, while Gladstone inveighed against the cruelty with which the Turk had crushed the Bulgarian rising, Disraeli was mainly concerned to prevent the complete collapse of the Turks and the occupation of Constantinople by the Russians. It was the threat of British interference which was largely responsible for the limit that was put to the Russian advance, and for the continued occupation of Constantinople and the Dardanelles by the Turkish power. Disraeli returned to England from Berlin, where he had represented Great Britain at a European congress to settle the Balkan trouble, and claimed that he had brought back "peace with honour." But in the greatest of all European wars, which raged from 1914 to 1918, Britain struggled hard with the help of Russia to undo the work of Disraeli in this respect and his solution of the question, his hopes and his fears are all unsupported by the verdict of history.

Egypt presented another problem, which he dealt with in a manner that was full of importance for the future. He had, in 1875, bought from the Khedive his shares in the Suez Canal, and later, when the Khedive was again in hopeless financial embarrassment, he arranged for a joint control of Egyptian finance by England and France, whose financial interests there were greater than those of any other countries. In 1880, a General Election brought back the liberals to power. Disraeli had already gone to the House of Lords with the title of Lord Beaconsfield and in 1881 he died.

VI

From this point on we will take even less notice of chronological order than we have done hitherto. We will follow instead, independently of one another, two topics, which are of primary importance, the history of the Irish question and the history of the foreign relations of England.

The well-meant land legislation of Gladstone had entirely failed to bring peace to Ireland. While Disraeli was in power the Irish movement became more urgent than ever with a new leader and a new organization.

leader was Charles Stewart Parnell, certainly one of the most important figures in the political history of the nineteenth

century He was of English origin, a Protestant, Parnell and a landlord But he was the most effective

leader that Catholic Ireland ever found in her struggle against the landlord interest and the dominion of the English Parlia-

ment Hardly any of the characteristics of the Irish nation were to be found in him He was not eloquent, he was not

emotional, he knew little and cared little for the past wrongs of Ireland But he hated England with a real passion, and

with the coolest judgement searched out the weak places in her armour The chief instrument that he used to gain his ends

was an Irish party in the House of Commons, well New tac- disciplined and obedient to himself, which acted

tics of the Irish party quite independently of the historic parties, and

was so far from feeling any loyalty to the constitution of Britain that it was delighted to wreck it The new organiza-

tion was the Land League The movement for Home Rule The Land had always had a social aim, but now that aim

League was declared The Irish people were to be made masters of the soil of Ireland The movement was accom-

panied by many scenes of outrage and violence No reforms in the government or land system of Ireland were attempted

by the government of Disraeli But when Gladstone formed his second ministry (1880-1885), he again turned to the Irish

question which was indeed the great preoccupation of his life Irish Land He brought forward in 1880 the Irish Land Act,

Act, 1880 which was an extension of his earlier legislation A Land Court was set up which was to fix rents by judicial

process, and the landlords' control over his land was thus still further weakened No immediate improvement in Irish

feeling resulted, though rents were in many cases reduced Rather there was increased bitterness in the relation of the

Government to the Irish leader Parnell was arrested, but liberated again Some working arrangement might

Murder perhaps have been found, but in 1882 occurred of Lord the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish, the

Frederick Secretary for Ireland, in Dublin Fresh coercive Cavendish measures were at once passed, and the Irish leaders threw

their weight against the liberals in the General Election that soon followed

In 1886 a new House of Commons came together in which the liberals were more numerous than the conservatives, but had not a clear majority of the House Parnell's Gladstone's Home Rule party held the balance In April, First Home Rule Bill 1886 Gladstone brought forward his first Home Rule Bill An Irish Parliament was to be created with power to manage all exclusively Irish affairs, but Ireland was to remain a part of the United Kingdom, and was to have no separate military, foreign, or financial policy Another measure was promised for the purchase of the land from the landlords

Since the Reform Bill of 1832 there had been no such fierce party ferment as this Bill produced Gladstone's motives were hotly challenged by some, and it was declared that his whole object had been to maintain himself in power with the help of the Irish vote The wisdom of the measure was hotly denied by others, and the claims of Protestant Ulster were urged for consideration Nearly a hundred liberals, including Bright, Chamberlain, and the Duke of Devonshire, refused to accept Gladstone's policy, and their secession brought down the Government A General Election was held, but the constituencies decisively rejected the Gladstonian policy A conservative ministry followed under Lord Salisbury (1886-1892), but the Irish question was still the most urgent Gladstone believed that the country would accept his policy of Home Rule, when it was a little more used to the idea, and confidently anticipated that the next General Election would give him the necessary mandate A charge of having approved of the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish, brought by the *Times* against Parnell, told in his favour, for it was proved that the letters on which the charge was based were forged But in 1890 the situation was altered by charges brought against Parnell in a petition for divorce Gladstone thought that Parnell's reputation was so badly damaged by the revelations at the trial, especially among the supporters of the liberal

Controversy on Home Rule

The Salisbury administration

The fall of Parnell

party, that it was impossible any longer to co-operate with him as the leader of the Irish party Parnell, however, refused to retire, and his own party was bitterly divided between those who still adhered to him, and those who accepted another leader satisfactory to Gladstone and the English liberals

The General Election, when it came in 1892, gave Gladstone and his supporters a small majority, but much smaller than he had hoped for He brought in a new Home Rule Bill in 1893, and with much difficulty procured its acceptance by the House of Commons But the House of Lords rejected it without hesitation It was Gladstone's last political effort He attacked the power of the House of Lords in the last speech that he made in the House of Commons He resigned office in 1894, and died four years later at the age of eighty-eight The Irish question never ceased to agitate Parliament, but there are no more incidents that we need chronicle here before the death of Queen Victoria, in 1901

VII

The barest summary of foreign affairs must suffice we shall glance again at the general character of international relationships in the next chapter

Great Britain became deeply involved in Egypt We have seen that England and France were jointly concerned in the financial administration of Egypt But the position proved unstable A rising, headed by Arabi Pasha, broke out against the foreign government, and France declined to assist in its repression The task fell therefore to Great Britain alone, and the native army was defeated in 1882 at the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir The government of the Khedive was not abolished, but the actual control of the country lay in the hands of the British, who have remained there up to the present, in spite of promises that the occupation should be temporary and that the British would leave as soon as circumstances rendered it possible Three years later attention was again

turned to Egypt. A religious leader, the Mahdī, rose in the Soudan, the great district to the south of Egypt, which was part of the territories of the Khedive. He overran the whole country and blockaded the garrisons at Khartoum and elsewhere. The situation was a difficult one, and was not handled with consistency or vigour by Gladstone's government. In the end General Gordon was sent out—General a soldier-saint born out of due time—to bring away Gordon the garrisons, the intention being to abandon the country to the Mahdī. But, on his arrival at Khartoum, Gordon refused to come away until he had reorganized the country. He was soon besieged himself by the Mahdī, and it was necessary to send out an expedition under Wolseley to rescue him. But the city fell and Gordon was killed, just when the relieving force was close to him, and the fanatical forces of the Mahdī spread unresisted over the whole of the Soudan (1885). Twelve years later, when Egypt had been reorganized and the government vastly strengthened under British influence, a force was dispatched under Kitchener to attack the power of the Mahdī's successor in the Soudan. The Battle of Omdurman, Battle of fought just outside of Khartoum, entirely over- Omdurman threw the power of the enemy, and the British henceforth ruled in the Soudan by a more direct title than in Egypt (1898).

At the very end of the queen's reign a still more serious war broke out in South Africa. The Dutch Republic of the Transvaal contained a large number of "outlanders" or foreigners, mostly British citizens, who had been attracted by the gold mines. The relations War between them and the government were strained and difficult, and were rendered much more so by a raid, conducted by Jameson from Cape Colony, which aimed at the overthrow of the government and perhaps the annexation of the Transvaal to the British Empire. The expedition was a wretched failure (1896). The British government, under the direction of Joseph Chamberlain, attempted by negotiation to procure full rights of citizenship for the outlanders. But the problem was one of very great difficulty, and Kruger, the President of the Transvaal, refused the proposals of the English government. War

broke out, and brought at first disappointment and defeat for the British arms. But, though the Boers fought with great skill and courage, they were a mere handful fighting a great Empire, and in the absence of all foreign help the end was certain. Roberts and Kitchener had already occupied the capitals of the Boer Republics, and were in sight of the end of the war when Queen Victoria died (1901).

The Victorian era, in spite of the Crimean War and almost constant fighting in India and the colonies, was at home a period of profound peace. The country was proud of its soldiers and of their victories, but the chief energies of the nation were turned to the peaceful development of the country, to commerce and industry, to science, art, and literature. The few voices which said that the present condition of things would not last for ever, and that Great Britain might yet have to defend herself against some mighty rival and enemy were not listened to. The mood of the nation was one of confidence, hope, and pride. Great Britain had indeed during the queen's long reign done great things, it had been the pioneer in industry and commerce, it had adapted its old constitution to modern needs without breaking continuity with the past, in a way which is one of the greatest political achievements in history. The country was behind most European countries in the organization of education, but no people can claim to have done more than the English during this period for literature and science. If it is possible to generalize about so long a period, which covered great changes in the national temper and thought, we may say that the defect of the Victorian era was a certain complacency and a belief that Great Britain was a world apart, capable of controlling her own destiny without much reference to Europe or the rest of the world. It is a belief that has been rudely shaken by the Great War of 1914.

The last volume of the *Political History of England* by S. Low and L. C. Sanders carries the story from 1837 to 1901. There is no detailed history of high reputation dealing with England since 1875,

but Miss Martineau's *History of Thirty Years' Peace* and McCarthy's *History of Our Own Time* are interesting and useful. The period can perhaps best be approached through the memoirs in which the period is very rich. Note especially Morley's *Cobden*, G. O. Trevelyan's *Macaulay*, Morley's *Gladstone*, O'Brien's *Parnell*, the *Life of Disraeli* by Money Penny and Buckle, G. M. Trevelyan's *Bright*, Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*. The *Memoirs* of Greville and the *Letters* of Queen Victoria belong to a different category, but are equally useful.

CHAPTER XXI

The Latest Age Between Two Wars

I

WHEN this period comes to be written by historians in some distant age, it is probable that they will speak of it as showing the blindness of statesmen. It was an age when sociology—the science of society—was beginning to be generally recognized, when men spoke of human affairs being submitted to laws as invariable as those of natural science, some large portion of which were already discovered. Men's eyes were eagerly fixed on the future. It was an age of Utopias. Writers in all countries, but especially in America, England and France, allowed their imagination to play on visions of the future, and they nearly always saw there the banishing of poverty and the coming of human peace. But none foresaw the war of 1914, and, if any foresaw a war at all, it was something far smaller and shorter, infinitely less terrible, than this struggle for which as yet no name and no adequate epithet have been found. The future historian will perhaps speak of the war as inevitable (it is a word that historians use much too easily and superficially), and compare the generations between the two wars with those who went on with the ordinary pleasures and occupations of life on the eve of the deluge.

The statesmen of Europe were doubtless constantly

occupied with thoughts and fears of war and there were wars, Hopes of great and small, in various parts of the world, peace but the populations of Western Europe, and especially of Great Britain, were rarely disturbed by the shadow of the coming catastrophe Western Europe, indeed, had never, since the end of the peaceful period of the Roman Empire, enjoyed so long an immunity from war as those forty-three years The friends of peace began to hope that it might be indefinitely prolonged, and many thought that we were on the eve not of the greatest military convulsion in history, but rather of the establishment of some sure basis of European concord

Let us, before tracing the history of this golden interval, notice some of its general characteristics

It was a period of rapid progress in invention and science There was no science that did not make great advances, Invention and scientific men seemed to some to have the and control of the world in their hands The pro- Science gress of invention was even more obvious Dreams that had been thought wild came true Man learnt to fly in the air and to make his way beneath the waves of the sea the first by the invention of aeroplanes and "Zeppelins", the second by the development of submarines On land the means of locomotion increased enormously The steam-engine became old-fashioned, electric traction and the petrol engine filled our streets with trams and our roads with motor cars Medicine and surgery claimed glorious triumphs and made victorious attacks on disease

In the realm of politics the period saw a great advance almost everywhere towards some form of constitutional General government The British constitution was no adoption of parlia- longer the invariable model, but in all civilized or mentary government half civilized states the government ceased to stand apart from the nation, and entered into some form of partnership with it In Russia and in Germany this partnership was very far from amounting to democracy but in Western and Southern Europe the state began to rest on a frankly democratic basis A few voices,

such as Carlyle's, were raised against this tendency, and proclaimed that civilization was "shooting Niagara," but the tendency was generally regarded as inevitable and desirable

The conception of the state changed and grew wider and deeper There was a change in practice and a change in theory too There were still some thinkers (such as Herbert Spencer in England) who wished to

limit the activity of the state to the protection of the lives of citizens and the maintenance of the frontiers But the general trend was towards a vast enlargement of the scope of

the activity of the state There was a conscious return to the Greek view of the state and to the philosophy of Aristotle The state now felt it should secure to citizens not only life but

"a good life" Some protests were made, but the tide ran so strongly in that direction that resistance was impossible

Since 1871 all European states have begun to undertake functions which they would not have ventured to touch half a century earlier The State controls or influences nearly

every department of life, and every difficulty that arises is met by a demand for the extension of state con-

rol It educates the great mass of the citizens, competent it takes measures for their health, it determines

the circumstances and surroundings under which they shall work, it begins even to determine what wages shall be paid

It is itself the greatest of capitalists, and perhaps of land-owners Literature, newspapers, and religion are as yet

usually outside the sphere of its activities, but indications are not absent that it may begin to control them also

The modern state has been called "omni-competent" and "omni-present" It has been held that it will take in the future

the place of the Church Some theorists, especially German theorists, have declared that the state can recognize no moral

law except the duty of advancing its own power, and that for the individual the only morality is the service of the state

The state too, has tended to become more and more national It was indeed one of the great aims of the nine-

teenth century to identify the state with the nation and to give the management of its own affairs to

any people, which feels itself to be a nation The great war

of 1914 has compelled careful and intense thought on many subjects, but on none more than on the question of nationality. It is seen now more clearly than ever before that nationality is an idea and a sentiment, rather than a scientific or physical fact, that no nation is really pure, that it is quite impossible to give to every racial group its own government, and that there must be states in the future, as in the past, which contain many national elements. But the nineteenth century affirmed the national basis of the state, and only a few thinkers saw all the consequences which would flow from the logical application of the idea.

The growth of socialism (using the word in the most general way) falls into line with this enlargement of the idea of the state, for an approximate definition of the aims of socialism is "the organization of industry by the state in the interests of labour", and this would have been unthinkable while the old ideas of the state were adhered to. Socialism and the social movements of the age form one of its most novel and characteristic features. Social questions have emerged as a controlling force in political life, and even as an important factor in the religious thought of the time. Social conditions have always exercised a great influence on the character and development of every state. Modern research emphasizes the share that they had in determining the external and internal life of the Athenian state and in precipitating the decline of the Roman Empire. Feudalism, as we have seen, corresponded at every point with the social condition of the time. But the world has not known before, to anything like the same extent, the organised social movements which have distinguished our age. They had begun long before 1871. They are to be found in the first French Revolution, they exercised a preponderating influence over the movements in France from 1848 to 1852, they appeared in a wild form in the Commune of 1871. But since then their force has been much increased and their organization improved. There are strong labour movements in every country in Western Europe, but it is in France that they are most revolutionary, in Germany that they are most powerful. The German Empire and

the Kingdom of Prussia were reckoned the most powerful state organizations in Europe before the Great War. They had done their utmost by direct and indirect methods to resist the growth of socialism, but they had failed to produce any impression upon it. There were fewer signs in Germany than elsewhere of any yielding to the demands of socialism. Two admirably organized armies faced one another in the political arena. Then came the war of 1914, and among the causes contributing to its outbreak must be reckoned the desire of the German government to divert the attention of the nation from the questions to which socialism directed it.

The national omni-competent State is thus the first object that greets our eyes as we survey contemporary Europe. But there are signs also of movement in a different direction. If nationalism is a feature of the times, **National-**ism and so is internationalism, and the latter tendency has **ism and** made great advance in the last fifty years. **international-**Capital and Labour—the still unreconciled opponents of the modern world—are both international, and, up to the outbreak of the great war, we should have said they were becoming more so. Capital found investment in foreign countries as readily as at home, and the international interests of capital have sometimes seemed to be a force making for international peace. The organization and sympathies of labour were even more openly international. Socialism was a movement common to all the world and trade-unionists from many lands met in congress and regarded their interests as identical. Further, art, science, literature and thought are all common to the whole world. Universities have become far more exclusively national than they were in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but, if scholars and teachers migrate less from university to university than they did once, books and ideas circulate easily, as easily in spite of difficulties arising from language, as when Latin was a common medium for all educated people.

The State, too, is not without its adversaries and rivals. There are, in the first place, those who sympathize to a greater or less extent with the views of the anarchist and regard all coercion by the State as wrong. Then there is everywhere in Western Europe freedom of association, and where

association is free there may arise at any time some organization—whether it be called trades-union, international league or church—which may claim the allegiance of its members even before the State itself. We have seen how the Roman Empire was afraid of associations which it did not control, and its fear was based on reasonable grounds.

We may notice in this connection the changed position of religion with regard to the State. Religion is still without doubt a great force—it is perhaps as great a force as it ever was. But the methods and the channels through which it exercises its influence are widely different. How absolute is the contrast in this respect between Europe in the twentieth and Europe in the thirteenth century! All organs of unity have disappeared from it. There is no one who claims to be universal Emperor, there is no belief anywhere that a universal Emperor is desirable. There is no church, no doctrine, no form of worship which comes near to finding general acceptance. The spiritual life of Europe, as well as its political life, has no representative. The various churches which exist side by side have all of them abandoned the practice of compulsion and most of them have lost even the desire to compel. Religious toleration in the widest sense of the phrase is one of the most decided gains of the modern world.

We have found that what most statesmen in the sixteenth century thought impossible is really quite easy—men of different faiths can live side by side with one another in the same State.

II

We will now briefly survey the history of the great States of Europe during these years of general European peace.

The crushing disaster of the war of 1870 did not remove France from the ranks of the great European powers. Her influence on international affairs was at first much diminished, but her prestige in the domain of art, science and letters has perhaps never been greater than since her humiliation by the Treaty of Frankfort. Her political life has been in

many ways successful—no other State has met the pressing problems of European life with more success—but it has not been of a kind to stamp itself on the imagination or memory. In framing the constitution the legislators were anxious to leave, if possible, no loophole for another invasion of monarchy or imperialism. The President is elected not by the votes of the people but by a joint meeting of the two legislative assemblies. Of the Presidents since 1871, with the exception of Thiers, none have exercised a controlling influence on the history of France, and Thiers owed his election to the war and the need of a strong man to preside over the early days of the new republic. he was not elected by the method laid down in the republican constitution as it was subsequently adopted. The Prime Ministers of France have not left as a rule a more permanent impression than the Presidents. The life of ministries has been very short. There have been important Prime Ministers—Gambetta, Ferry, Waldeck-Rousseau, Clémenceau—but there is nothing in French political life that resembles the rigid party system with its recognized chiefs, which is familiar to us in England, and on which the power of English Prime Ministers rests. So that French politics give at first the idea of perpetual flux and even of anarchy. Yet the administration is continuous and successful. The Assembly keeps a closer hold on the administration than Parliament does in England, and in France, as everywhere, there is an army of permanent officials whose unseen energies are often more important than those of the politicians.

The history of the French Republic during these years can best be grouped round the dangers that have threatened the republic. There has been no open attack from the royalist and imperialist parties, though they have had many adherents in the chambers and the nation. The attacks on the republic have been indirect.

There was in 1887 the Boulangist movement. General Boulanger was a general of good repute, who as minister of war had made himself popular with the army. In 1886 he became the leader or the figure-head of a strange movement. He never showed any talent as speaker or

statesman, and the movement which goes by his name was a general attack on the republic by various groups who were widely at variance among themselves. The overt aim of his supporters was to "revise the constitution," to introduce into it the element of the plebiscite, and to reduce in some way the power of parliamentary institutions, but under his name the Catholics hoped for the restoration of the privileges of the Church, and legitimists and imperialists hoped that, if the constitution were thrown into the melting-pot, it might come out in the shape that they liked best. For a time Boulanger was supported by a great wave of enthusiasm, and he was elected by many constituencies and even by Paris. Many think that if he had dared to strike the republic would not have survived, but he fled from France on hearing that his arrest had been ordered (1889) and shortly afterwards committed suicide in Brussels. The whole affair left a painful sense of the insecurity of the republic.

The next crisis in the life of the republic was the Dreyfus affair, in its details one of the most highly controversial affairs in European history. In 1894 Captain Dreyfus, a Jewish artillery officer, was found guilty on a charge of betraying military secrets to Germany. He was degraded and transported to the Devil's Isle in the West Indies. The affair seemed unlikely at first to have further consequences, except as a weapon in the odious campaign against the Jews which was being conducted by a section of the press. But in 1896 Colonel Picquart, at the War Office, produced evidence which seemed to show that Dreyfus was innocent of the crime alleged against him. There broke out in France a furious controversy, in which all Europe took part, over the guilt or innocence of Dreyfus, and over the question as to whether an appeal for revision of sentence should be allowed. The personal question—the fate of the miserable prisoner—stirred men deeply, but it was more than a personal question. The anti-Dreyfusards were generally the enemies of the republic—the clericals, the monarchists and the imperialists were ranged against him. On the other side there stood at first only a few distinguished men, such as Zola, Picquart, Anatole France and Scheurer-Kestner,

but gradually their appeal to justice and to humanity rallied a great part of the nation to their side. The struggle became one for the existence of the republic. The end was undramatic and unsatisfactory. Dreyfus was brought home and tried again at Rennes. He was again found guilty, and sentenced, but was at once pardoned by the President. It was the Prime Minister, Waldeck-Rousseau, who was largely responsible for having guided the republic in safety through this dangerous storm.

The "affaire Dreyfus" led up to a very questionable and very important step. The religious orders and the Catholic Church in France were charged with having taken a leading part in the agitation against Dreyfus and the republic. Heavy blows now fell upon them both. The religious orders were subjected to a close scrutiny, a great number were proscribed, none were allowed to teach, the members passed as exiles into foreign countries. Then followed an attack upon the whole position of the Church in France. The Concordat established by Napoleon was denounced, and the complete separation of Church and State was decreed. No salaries to religious leaders were henceforward to be paid by the State, but Associations for worship were to be founded, which would take over the fabric of the churches. The Pope protested but in vain (1906).

Since that date the French Republic has been chiefly occupied with labour questions, involving on some occasions strikes and struggles of extreme bitterness. Two Syndical-features have marked the labour movement in France—the growth of "syndicalism"—a movement for the action of trade-unions, independently of the State—and the strong pacifism of many of the leaders of labour. But when war broke out in 1914 labour was as resolute as any other section of the French people in its determination to drive back the invader, who was again trampling on the fair fields of France.

We may pass over the history of Germany more rapidly, for we are postponing the story of international relations to a later part of this chapter. The country made extraordinary progress in commerce and industry and organization during these years. Before Europe was aware

of it a new Germany was born, no longer sentimental, idealist and divided, but united, closely and rigidly organized, military as no other state in Europe was military, pursuing wealth with a concentration and eagerness greater even than in England, worshipping power. The first part of the period is the reign of Bismarck. He had made the German Empire, but he saw with alarm some tendencies and aims in the new generation. The great change came when in 1888 William I died. He was succeeded by his son Frederick III, who during the three months of his reign showed a strong liberal tendency. He died in June, 1888, and William II reigned.

The character and the aims of William II will exercise the pens of historians for many years to come. But there is much that is even now not doubtful about him. He was **William II** headstrong and passionate, full of a sense of the authority of the Crown, which he held came to him directly from God, he was determined that the real government of Germany should rest in his own hands. His character and his aims brought him into conflict not only with the memory of his father Frederick III, but with Bismarck. The contest **Fall of Bismarck.** between them was partly one of power, Bismarck was clearly a check upon his individual absolutism. But it was also a conflict of policy. Bismarck wished to make Germany an acceptable member of the European State system, he had a very limited enthusiasm for colonial enterprise, and saw the dangers into which a vigorous naval policy might bring the country. The Emperor had no fears, no hesitations. He declared that "the future of Germany lay upon the water," and that it was his ambition to do for the German navy what his grandfather had done for the army. Above all he declared that if Bismarck remained in office it must be in subordination to himself. The great chancellor refused and was dismissed in 1890. There is a great contrast between his policy and that of the young Emperor who succeeded him, but Bismarck had not only made Germany—he had also by his teaching and by his triumphs given it the characteristics which have marked its policy ever since—reliance upon force, contempt for the idea of international law and justice, the refusal to recognize any power higher or more sacred than the State.

The building of a strong fleet, the foundation of a Colonial Empire, and the development and organization of socialism are the chief features of Germany since William II's assumption of personal power. The winning of Helgoland, as the result of an arrangement with Great Britain in 1890, gave Germany an important naval base, the completion of the Kiel Canal in 1895 vastly increased her naval power by allowing the Baltic and North Sea fleets to join without passing through Danish waters. The German Navy League supported the policy with a great weight of public opinion. In 1897 a great shipbuilding programme was undertaken which has been continually added to. The great war was soon to show the dangerous strength of the German fleet.

The German Colonial Empire was largely the result of the partition of Africa, which was negotiated by Lord Salisbury in 1890, but in 1897 the emperor took advantage of disturbances in China to gain possession of Kiaochow, and during the succeeding years the new possession was made the basis for the persistent and successful organization of German commerce in China, which was looked on as one of the greatest triumphs of the Empire. Germany also entered into intimate and friendly relations with the Sultan of Turkey, though he had just been guilty of appalling massacres of Armenians, and gained by this means an entry into Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. When the great war came Germany was building a railway to Bagdad, which would have opened to commerce and to European influence the earliest cradle of civilization, which had been desolate for many centuries. Her ambitions in the "near east" came to be cherished almost beyond all others.

The growth of socialism dogged the steps of Germany's victorious march. The autocracy of the government drove into the socialist ranks many men who would have been liberals or conservatives in freer countries. The emperor tried at first to conciliate the movement by labour legislation, then he denounced it as unpatriotic and traitorous, but there was hardly a check in the growth of the socialist vote. It became the largest single party in the

Reichstag, and if the electoral system of Germany had been reformed on any reasonable basis, its numbers would have been vastly increased. Its opposition to the government was outspoken and exceedingly bitter. It seemed to many onlookers that it would be an effective check on the military ambitions of Germany, for its leaders often declared that the party would not co-operate in any war of aggression. But the great war of 1914 showed the fallacy of all these hopes. In the modern State, in time of military crisis, the action of large minorities exercises very little influence on the government. The socialists, in spite of their quite genuine dislike of aggressive war, marched in the German armies to the murder of Belgium and the invasion of France. One of the most interesting questions after the war is the future of German socialism, its political and social programmes, its attitude towards the policy in which it has, willingly or not, co-operated.

We must summarize the history of Austria-Hungary in a few lines. Her internal history has been chiefly occupied with the questions of the franchise and the relations of the different races of the Empire to one another. After many preliminary attempts to solve the question, a bill was passed in 1907 which gave in Austria the franchise to all men over twenty-four the Germans got more seats, and the Czechs fewer than their numbers warranted, but the measure was generally accepted. Concessions were made to the Czechs in Bohemia and to the Poles in Galicia, but the racial problem remained an acute one. Hungary, since 1867, had possessed something that may be called complete Home Rule, and the constitution has been based on universal suffrage. The chief effort of Hungary has been to affirm more strongly her independence and power, and to assert the dominance of the Magyar race over the subordinate races of the monarchy. Up to the coming of the great war (whose guilt lies in great part at the door of Austria-Hungary) it seemed that a great change was passing over the State. Her rulers were no longer the "mandarins of Europe." Industrial and intellectual progress characterized the greater part of her territories. interesting constitutional experiments were being made. less was heard of the inevitable disruption

of the Empire at the death of the Emperor Francis Joseph. It almost seemed as if some means had been found of placing the Austrian Empire, in spite of its divisions and antagonisms, on a stable basis. But all those hopes were swept away in the Great War.

The domestic history of Russia is a subject as difficult as it is important. For more than half a century there has been a condition of great fermentation in Russia thought, religion, politics, and social organization.

Russian thought and example have begun to exercise great influence on Western Europe and are likely to exercise more

We have not looked at Russian history since the time of the Crimean War. The reign of Alexander II, who came to the throne during the course of the war, is characterized by two important social events—the emancipation of the serf and the rise of nihilism. The Emancipation of the serfs.

The idea of freeing the serfs was no new one. Serfdom had been attacked for a long time past both on humanitarian and economic grounds. There were nearly fifty million serfs in Russia, and their condition varied widely. But all were bound to the soil, and formed a part of the estate, though they were not individually the property of the owner. They could not be bought and sold, and they were secure in the possession of their dwelling and a piece of land, but they paid to the lord forced service, he was the sole judge over them in all civil matters, he could administer corporal punishment, and his traditional powers were even more extensive than his legal powers. The actual condition of the serf varied of course widely, according to local circumstances and the character of his master. The emancipation was carried through by the Czar, beginning in 1858 with the serfs on the royal domain. The serf became a free man, and had at once access to the national law courts instead of being submitted to the judicial power of his master. By different methods, but usually by a system of land purchase, he became proprietor of a portion of the land. There can be no question but that the reform was a great and beneficent one, but it caused much disappointment at first. Too much had been expected, the price charged for the land was too high, many of the peasants

certainly had enjoyed more physical comfort under the old servile conditions

This disappointment contributed to the rise of nihilism, and the latter part of the reign of Alexander II was not marked by the same liberal tendencies as the earlier part. Nihilism was a movement supported by many different groups. There were those who demanded fuller constitutional liberties for Russia, and who in a western State would have been liberals or radicals. There were many nobles who were irritated with the emancipation of the serfs because it had taken from them power and wealth, and there were some peasants who were irritated with the same movement because it had not given them more. There were many young men and women of good education, who threw themselves into the movement out of disappointment with life and despair of any but desperate remedies. All were agreed on the overthrow of the present system, but there was no agreement as to what should take its place, though they generally agreed in demanding the summoning of a representative assembly or Duma. The movement was marked by violence, terrorism, and assassination. Alexander II was on the point of calling a Duma when he was assassinated in 1881. His successor, Alexander III, refused to contemplate any concessions, and fought nihilism by measures of stern repression. Not only nihilist but religious dissidents—Protestants, Jews, and Catholics—were harshly treated. The country suffered, but there was no serious rebellion before his death in 1894.

The reign of Nicholas II began as a continuation of that of Alexander III, but from the first he did his utmost to promote industry and commerce. The coercive policy against all opponents was, however, maintained to the full. The war with Japan and the humiliations that Russia suffered during its course, together with the belief that Russian officials had exhibited great incompetence and corruption, made the maintenance of the old system impossible. There were serious mutinies in army and navy. Petrograd and other Russian cities were the scenes of violent revolutionary risings. In October, 1905, the Czar promised the summons of

a Duma, based on a wide franchise, with control over taxation and a vote on legislation. The Assembly came together in 1906, and some prophesied that constitutionalism would be introduced without difficulty into Russia. There were violent differences of opinion among the members themselves, but the extremists were supported by the majority, and the Czar in alarm dissolved the first Duma. Nor was this all. As the next Duma exhibited much the same temper, methods of the utmost violence were adopted for the suppression of revolutionary ideas, and Western Europe was shocked by the stories of execution and exile to Siberia. A fairly loyal and obedient Duma was at last obtained by very questionable means, but little advance had been made towards a settled constitutional life or the conciliation of the subject nationalities, especially the Finns and the Poles. When the Great War came, Russia at once assumed a new importance in Europe. She was no longer the enemy but the friend of liberty and the bulwark of Europe against German militarism. Her armies and her generals at first exceeded all that was hoped of them.

III

In a previous chapter we carried the history of Great Britain as far as the death of Queen Victoria. The thirteen years that passed between that event and the outbreak of the Great War were full of important events, which had no reference at all to the unguessed tragedy which was awaiting the country.

The Boer War came to an end in April, 1902. It had been in the later stages "a war of attrition," and the Boers had only surrendered when the fighting force of the nation had been practically annihilated. The conservative government was in power, with Lord Salisbury at first, and, after his resignation, with Balfour as Premier. In 1903 the relations of the two parties were profoundly altered by Joseph Chamberlain's advocacy of Protection. Since the adoption by Sir Robert Peel of the ideas of Cobden free trade had been the

policy of the country and it was only opposed by a despairing Chamberlain and Protection group. Mr Chamberlain took up the idea of Protective tariffs both on economic and on political grounds, and probably with him the political motive was the stronger. He had become, during his tenure of the office of Colonial Secretary, a passionate Imperialist, and he hoped that protective tariffs might do for the British Empire what the Zollverein had done for Germany. He hoped that the colonies and dominions would first get used to acting together for commercial reasons and might afterwards develop a common political organization. Chamberlain, by his opposition to Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, had split the liberal party and given the conservatives a long lease of power. His new policy was almost as fatal to the conservatives. There were numerous defections from the party, and this forced Balfour to resign office in November, 1905. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman succeeded and soon dissolved Parliament. The general election gave the liberals the most complete victory at the polls that had been won by any party since the reign of Queen Anne.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was forced by ill-health to resign early in 1908, but his short tenure of office was noteworthy for the grant of complete self-government to the recently conquered Boer republics. Soon the Cape and Natal joined with them to form a single State, and General Botha, so recently in arms against Great Britain, became the first Prime Minister of United South Africa and remained so until his death. History hardly knows of any such transformation. The conduct of South Africa since that time bears emphatic testimony to the healing effect of liberty and justice.

Asquith succeeded Campbell-Bannerman, and henceforth two issues dominated all the rest. There were in the first place a series of measures aiming at the amelioration of the condition of the poor which emanated chiefly from the fertile brain of Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, an Old Age Pensions Act giving a pension of five shillings per week to all over the age of seventy, and an Insurance Act, whereby the State added

to the contributions of the employer and the employed to insure to wage-earners a certain sum per week in case of incapacity through illness. These proposals provoked violent controversies, which are not yet quite at an end. But never in modern England had the State applied itself so earnestly to improve the condition of the poor.

The other great question of the period was the position and power of the House of Lords. It was no new question. Gladstone's last speech in Parliament had been devoted to a denunciation of the power of the Peers. The liberal party found itself directly opposed by them on the questions which it had most at heart. The Peers had rejected Home Rule Bills, and in 1909 they rejected the Budget which was required for the new social legislation. A dissolution of Parliament followed at once that the feeling of the country might be tested on the issue between the Commons and the Lords. The liberal majority fell considerably, but the liberals with the labour party and the Irish nationalists had a majority of 122.

House of
Lords and
the Liberal
Govern-
ment.

The
Budget
of 1909

The Lords now accepted the Budget that they had previously rejected, but Asquith followed on with a measure limiting the veto of the House of Lords on legislation to two years. After that, if the veto was again exercised, it was to be neglected and the statute would pass automatically into force after it had received the King's signature. This measure had itself to pass the House of Lords, but did so at last after King George V, who had just succeeded Edward VII, had promised to create sufficient peers to pass the measure if it was resisted further.

Curtail-
ment of the
powers of
the House
of Lords

The liberals had now the weapon in their hands which alone would make possible the passing of a Home Rule Bill and they proceeded at once to apply it to the purpose. A Home Rule Bill was passed rapidly through the House of Commons. The Lords did not withdraw their opposition, but the recently created machinery was put into force and the Bill was passed.

Irish Home
Rule

passed

Even after it had passed the way was far from smooth. There were preparations of vigorous resistance to the Bill in

Ireland, especially in Ulster—preparations that came very near to civil war. All efforts at compromise were in vain, Threatened and the outlook in Ireland was undoubtedly very resistance grave. Then suddenly all other issues, even the in Ireland very gravest, were swallowed up in the question of War or Peace. When war came the Home Rule Bill, by agreement, received the signature of the King, but its application was suspended until the end of the war.

IV

It will perhaps be difficult for the student of history in a future age to realize that these domestic events almost monopolized the attention of the English people. Diplomats watched the gathering of the storm with anxiety, but to the ordinary citizen the war of 1914 came as a bolt from the blue. We will follow the international relations of the European States sufficiently to understand how the two great alliances were formed that clashed together in this unparalleled war.

The preponderance of Germany in Europe after 1871 was unquestioned, and Bismarck used the prestige of the country to draw to his side the Emperors of Russia and of Austria. This is what is called the League of the Three Emperors, but the phrase is incorrect because there seems to have been no formal alliance. Western Europe remained at peace, if not peaceful, and it seemed as though in the West the State system had reached a permanent form. But the Balkan peninsula was continually agitated by movements and alarms, and every great diplomatic change in Europe down to the war of 1914 has been closely related to some development in the Balkans.

The decadence and disintegration of Turkey have gone on continuously, and nearly all round her circumference there has been a narrowing of her frontiers and the formation of new States. The two forces that have of Turkey constantly undermined the power of Turkey are religion and nationality in close alliance. The majority of the population of the Turkish dominions in Europe are Christians of the Eastern or "orthodox" Church, and the Mohamedan yoke

has pressed on them with irritating and oppressive force. They have all felt moreover that the Turks are aliens, and they have been accustomed to look to Russia for protection and sympathy. Greece had established itself in the south Greece. in complete independence as early as 1829. The mountain State of Montenegro in the west, after heroic combats, had won for itself practical independence, though the Turkish government had never recognized its independence. To the north of the Danube Roumania possessed self-government but remained nominally within the Roumania. limits of the Turkish Empire. South of the Danube Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and above all Bulgaria, were in continual unrest. The Turks were conscious of the weakness of their hold upon these peoples and looked to methods of terror to keep them in subordination. There were many promises of reform, but they came to little or nothing. In 1875 the mutterings of rebellion developed into open defiance of the Turkish power in Bosnia and Bulgaria. Herzegovina. The insurgents won some early successes, but then they were overwhelmed by the Turkish armies. At the same time the Bulgarians, who were on the eve of a similar movement for independence, were crushed by the Turks with terrible cruelty. The Bulgarian massacres sent a thrill of horror through all Europe.

It was recognized by diplomatists that the Balkan peninsula was the storm-centre of Europe. Russia and Austria were interested as neighbours, Great Britain because of her commercial interests in the Mediterranean. The Russo-Turkish War. There were conferences, proposals and counter proposals in plenty. At last, in 1877, Russia sent an ultimatum, and as her demands were not accepted, war came at once. The other great powers stood aloof and looked on at the duel.

In the war both the Turkish troops and their commanders showed unexpected powers, and it seemed for a time as though the Russians might be driven back behind the Danube, but in the end the numbers, wealth and organization of Russia and the corruption of the Turkish government produced their inevitable results. The Russians, helped only by the Roumanians, penetrated into the neighbourhood of Constantinople and -

Turkey lay at their mercy. The Treaty of San Stefano was forced upon the Turks, and, if it had been put into effect, Turkey would have ceased to be an important power in Europe. But here the European powers again intervened, Great Britain under Disraeli taking a leading part. The power of Germany and the influence of Bismarck were displayed by the choice of Berlin as the scene of a European congress, which led up, after much discussion, to the Treaty of Berlin. The deep humiliation of Turkey, implied in the Treaty of San Stefano, was avoided in the Berlin treaty, but her loss in territory and prestige was very great. Roumania, Montenegro, and Serbia were declared sovereign and independent States. Bosnia and Herzegovina, while remaining nominally within the Turkish dominions, were placed under the administration of Austria. Instead of the great State of Bulgaria, which had been planned by the Treaty of San Stefano, a comparatively small State with that name was established, stretching only as far south as the Balkan mountains, but enjoying practical independence. To the south of the mountains a State was created under the name of Roumelia, with large powers of self-government, but still under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Great Britain claimed and obtained Cyprus as the reward of her services in defence of the Sultan, but there too the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan was still maintained.

The alliance of the three Emperors hardly survived the results of this war. The Czar of Russia and his minister The Triple Gortschakoff felt that they had been foiled in their Alliance. schemes in the Balkans largely by Bismarck and Germany, and without any overt rupture, the relations between Germany and Russia became cold and strained. On the other hand Austria felt herself drawn to Germany for the very reason that Germany was alienated from Russia, for Russia and Austria began to feel themselves inevitable rivals for power and influence in the Balkans. Italy soon after joined the Austro-German alliance. Things were not going smoothly with the Italian kingdom, and the monarchy, confronted by enemies at home and abroad, felt the need of the support of the strong military monarchies of Central Europe. The colonial

ambitions of France, moreover, contributed to the same result. France had recently acquired Tunis, and Italy saw with alarm the presence of the French power so near to her southern coasts. So in 1883 the Triple Alliance was concluded. ^{Italy, Germany and France} Germany, Austria, and Italy declared that their one aim was to maintain the peace of Europe. From the first there was a strong party in Italy, which regarded with dislike this union with Austria, her hereditary enemy, and with "the barbarians of the north."

France felt herself more than ever isolated in Europe, opposed by the Triple Alliance in whose pacific intentions she did not believe, irritated with England, and conscious that her military strength was unequal to so many possible dangers. Help came to her from Russia—a State whose history, constitution and aim were almost the antithesis of her own. ^{The Franco-Russian Alliance} But they were drawn together by a common hostility to Germany. Since Germany by the Treaty of Frankfurt had torn away Alsace and Lorraine from France in defiance of the wishes of the people, hostility between the two States was a permanent feature of European politics. The jealousy and hostility between Germany and Russia was of a less declared and dramatic kind, but it was almost equally strong. It was an inexpressible relief to France when she again possessed an ally in Europe, and an ally of such huge resources and such indefinite powers. The defeat of Russia in her war with Japan (1905) broke her prestige for a time, but led up to a reorganization of her forces, which prepared the way for the great feats she accomplished at the beginning of the Great War.

In 1903, the movement began whereby Great Britain entered into an *entente cordiale* with France, and created in all but name another Triple Alliance to confront that whose formation we have already seen. ^{The entente cordiale between France and Great Britain} The movement was not a sudden one. In spite of much friction, arising for the most part out of African and Colonial questions, there had been a steady *rapprochement* between France and Great Britain for some time past. There was general admiration for the heroic tenacity of France under her great disasters, and for her

great achievements in art, science, and thought. But the immediate cause of the step was probably the hostile attitude of Germany towards Britain during the Boer War, and the creation of a strong German fleet, which began almost immediately afterwards. We do not know what exactly were the agreements into which Great Britain entered with France, but they developed continuously and ripened into something that was practically an alliance.

Alliance then confronted alliance, and for some time the grouping of Europe seemed favourable to peace. The forty-three years that elapsed between the two great wars are the longest period during which the States of Western Europe have been at peace since the second century of our era. Men began to hope that if we reached half a century of peace, the futility of the vast preparations would become apparent, and some organization of Europe on a basis of mutual trust might be accepted. It seemed too that the heart of Europe was turning to peace. France seemed to be forgetting her dreams of revenge, and in Britain any statesman who dared to speak of war as anything but a great evil, would have had to disappear from public life. The dangerous and warlike temper of much German thought was known, though not so well as it is now, but from individual Germans and important groups came manifestations of peaceful aims which were certainly sincere. Posterity will find it difficult to realise the golden hopes of European concord which were entertained by many in the midsummer of 1914.

The causes of the Great War will occupy the pens of countless investigators perhaps for centuries to come. We may note that Europe, so full of organizations for war, had no satisfactory organization for peace. The Czar had, in 1908, made a noble and partially successful contribution to that end, when he invited the Great Powers of Europe to meet in conference at the Hague (1898) and discuss means for the disarmament of Europe. So far as disarmament is concerned, the Conference was an entire failure, for the German representatives refused to consider it seriously, but it resulted in the establishment of an international tribunal at the

Hague, which has already contributed to the settlement of many international disputes by arbitration, and will form the basis of renewed effort towards peace when the war is over. But clearly the machinery of the Hague was insufficient, and the temper of the States of Europe did not allow any more complete system to be adopted.

The Great War came chiefly through two channels: colonial competition and the rivalry of the Great Powers in the Balkans. Germany, proud of her rapid advance in wealth, Colonial organization and power, claimed a corresponding ambition of share in the control of the non-European world, Germany rather as a satisfaction to her ambition than as a necessity for her people, whose prosperity was unquestioned. But the world was almost completely occupied, and colonial acquisitions could, for the most part, only be made by the dispossession of other nations. Yet Germany won a colonial power full of promise. By arrangement with the other powers she had gained large and promising possessions in Africa, she had occupied Tsing Tao in China, and made of it the base of a highly organized and successful attempt to establish a great commercial power in China; she had cast eyes, too, on North Africa, where Morocco alone remained outside of European control, but her efforts there had no success. Morocco. They provoked the hostility of France, who was supported by Great Britain. Germany had to submit to a somewhat humiliating rebuff, and it was France who established her protectorate in Morocco.

The Moroccan question lies near to the cause of the war, but the match that kindled the conflagration was struck in the Balkans. Germany, in close league with Germany Austria, had seen in the Balkans and in Asiatic in the Turkey a promising opening for her influence and Near East. her commerce. The emperor had paraded his friendship with the Sultan, later, Germany gained a predominant share in the construction of the Bagdad railway. But to understand the situation in the Balkans, we must glance at the chief events, which have happened there since the Treaty of Berlin.

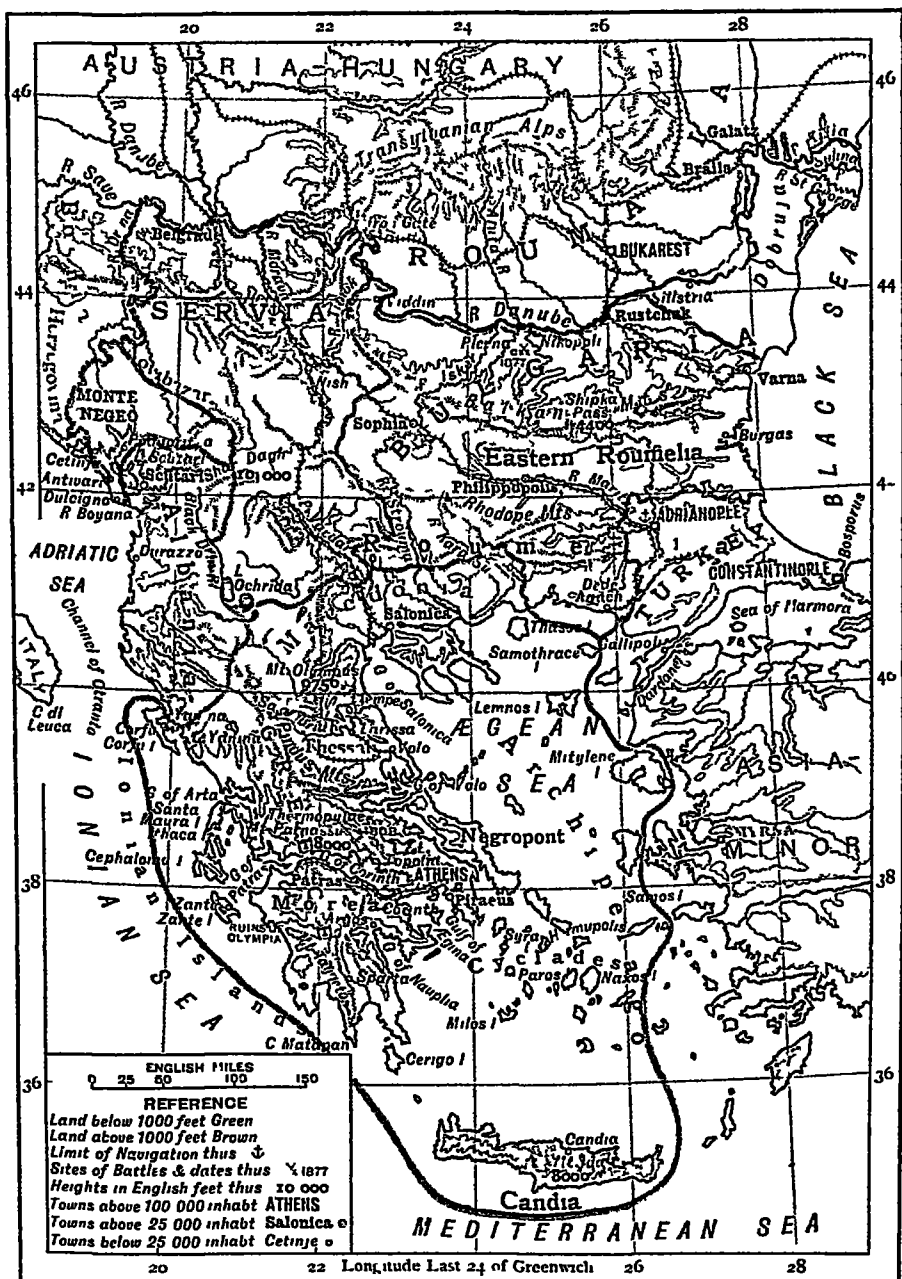
It was assumed by diplomacy that this was the last dismemberment of Turkey, and the phrase "the future integrity

of the dominions of the Sultan " appeared again But no force seems to avail to buttress up the Turkish power Dismemberment of Roumelia and Bulgaria were united in 1885 Turkey Egypt passed under British rule in 1882 Crete since the Treaty of Berlin was placed under Greek rule in 1898 In 1908, after a revolution had swept the Sultan from the throne and raised a hope of internal reforms, the Austrian Empire took advantage of the internal weakness of Turkey to declare the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and at the same time Bulgaria declared her complete independence In 1912 the Italians invaded and occupied Tripoli The adventure proved more serious than they had anticipated, but they held their own against all efforts to dislodge them until Turkey was forced to cede them the country, under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan, by the great war that broke out in the Balkans

The Revolution at Constantinople in 1908 and the action of Austria in annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina had produced a general fermentation throughout the peninsula All hopes of reconciliation between the Turks and the subject populations soon died away, and the Christian States of the Balkans saw in the dissensions of the Turks a chance of expelling them from Europe A secret " Balkan League " was formed between Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Serbia, they laid aside for the time their own quarrels (which were a little later to lead to so fierce a war) and agreed to concentrate all their efforts on the defeat of the Turks The war began in October, 1912, and found the Turks unprepared Greeks, Serbians, Montenegrins and Bulgarians all gained victories against them, but the heaviest fighting fell to the lot of the Bulgarians, who defeated the Turks in two great battles, advanced to the lines of Chataldja, which guard Constantinople, and subsequently took the strong city of Adrianople The war seemed at an end, and a congress was called in London to settle the terms of peace

These efforts, though sincerely made and renewed, proved unavailing, and, while in the West diplomatists still talked of peace, a new and more fearful struggle broke out in the Balkans The jealousies of the powers were bitter in the extreme, Bulgaria and her King Ferdinand thought that

MAP SHOWING THE FRONTIERS OF THE BALKAN POWERS AS ARRANGED
BY THE TREATY OF BUCHAREST, 1913



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the efforts they had made gave them the right to the greater part of the spoil, the rivalry between Bulgaria and Greece for the possession of Salonica had led to bloodshed even during the first war, and was one of the chief issues in the second. Bulgaria now found herself at war with all the other Balkan powers.

In the struggle which broke out in June, 1913, the Bulgarians fared even worse than the Turks had done. The Roumanians joined their enemies. The Turks recouped Adrianople. The Bulgarians were beaten again and again, and soon begged for terms from their opponents and from Europe. This second struggle produced horrors not surpassed by anything in medieval warfare. "The Balkans," said an eye-witness, "is one vast madhouse where sanity seems ridiculous and folly wisdom." At the end of July an armistice was granted, and peace followed before long.

A new era had opened for the Balkans, though the high hopes of the early days of the struggle—when a confederation of the Balkan States seemed possible—were far from being fulfilled. The Turks still held Constantinople and regained Adrianople, but their days as an important European power were at an end. Bulgaria gained access to the Aegean sea, but fell short of the wide dominions that had at one time seemed within her grasp. Serbia, with enlarged borders, became a considerable power, she seemed to have taken her revenge for the battle of Kossovo, in which the Serbian Empire had been crushed by the Turks in 1398, but she was still without access to the sea, and still saw in Bosnia and Herzegovina millions of the same race as herself subject to Austrian rule. Greece had gained greatly in territory and prestige. Crete was united to her. Salonica was recognized as Greek. It seemed certain that once again, after so many centuries, Athens would count as an important influence in European affairs. There is assured hope for the future of the Balkans, though it was from this quarter that the spark came which lit the conflagration which began to blaze in Europe in 1914.

No effort can be made here to disentangle the different forces which thrust Europe into the abyss in July, 1914. The perspective of the events will alter as the years pass, and

the relative importance of different influences, personal and national, can hardly yet be weighed with a cool mind. Perhaps a future historian will chiefly emphasize the amount of combustible material in Europe, and the absence of all machinery for avoiding a conflagration. But it seems certain that any study of the documents which have been already published will lead to the conviction that war came in July, 1914, because Germany and Austria willed that it should come, and took unscrupulous advantage of events in the Balkans to bring it about. Russia and Austria were the great rivals there, and at the end of the Russo-Japanese War Austria had, with the help of Germany, inflicted a sharp check on Russian ambitions there. Serbia was regarded as the chief enemy by Austria, and in 1908 Austria had supported charges against Serbia of a conspiracy against Austria by documents which she had later to admit were forgeries—not merely such a rehandling of a real document as Bismarck had been guilty of with regard to the Ems telegram in 1870, but a complete and monstrous forgery, which has no parallel in the modern political life of European States. Austria had designed to attack Serbia in 1913, but had been prevented by Italy. In 1914 there came an incident which served as an excuse. The heir to the Austrian throne was murdered at Serajevo on June 28th. The Serbian government was suspected of complicity and Austria-Hungary demanded redress in an ultimatum of so violent a character that it was in itself an act of war. Russia, always the protector of the Slavonic States of the Balkans, showed herself ready to defend Serbia against the monstrous demands of Austria. Germany declared her determination to support Austria. France could not refuse to abide by her alliance with Russia. Efforts were made by the British foreign minister to settle the quarrel by conciliation and conference. But all was in vain. Italy indeed declared that she was not bound to support her allies of the Triple Alliance in a war which was aggressive on their side, and in consequence remained for some time neutral. But Great Britain was drawn into the war by her close friendship with France and her promise to protect the neutrality of Belgium which was attacked by Germany,

though Germany had herself guaranteed that neutrality It cannot be doubted that the vast majority of the population of Europe desired peace, but they found themselves dragged helplessly into the teeth of the terrible machine, which it had been the chief business of the statesmen of Europe for half a century to construct

Volume 21 of the *Cambridge Modern History* gives a summary and full bibliography J H Rose's *Development of European Nations since 1870* Gooch's *History of Our Own Time* (1885-1911) is a very useful summary *The Balkans, A History* by different writers Hanotaux's *Modern France* Hohenlohe's *Memoirs* Headlam's *History of Fourteen Days* Gilbert Murray's *Foreign Policy of Sir Edward Grey*

CHAPTER XXII

The Great War

I

It is a very difficult task for one who has lived through the five years during which the world was torn by the struggle which we seem agreed to call the Great War to attempt to tell something about it in the space of not more than thirty pages Every morning's paper seemed to contain news on which the destinies of the world might hinge, men and events were seen through an atmosphere that distorted and discoloured everything As the student of history looked on at the stream of authentic and garbled information, of wild rumours and of mere lies which submerged the minds of most men, he reflected sometimes with irony on the materials out of which history is made, on the sources from which Herodotus drew his history of the Persian wars, on the nature of medieval chronicles, on the uncertain foundations of many historical judgments that are never questioned, on Napoleon's saying that history was "a lie agreed upon" But that mood of scepticism is unreasonable History is not truth, but an approximation to the truth which we believe grows closer and closer. In this chapter we shall try to speak of the war as though it were long past, and no longer left its traces on the hearts and hopes of all of us.

It is little to say that this war surpasses in magnitude and destructiveness all other wars that are recorded in history. Much more than three-quarters of the land surface of the earth was engaged in the struggle. So numerous were the combatant states that it is actually difficult to be sure of the whole list of them. To begin with, Germany and Austria were confronted by Russia, France, Great Britain, Serbia, Montenegro, Belgium, and Japan. But other states were soon drawn into the conflict. Germany had for long past been devoting great attention to Turkey, and had seen in her vast and ill-organized territories an opening for her capital and her organizing capacity. There was probably some understanding between the two countries even before the outbreak of the war. Two German cruisers—the *Goeben* and *Breslau*—escaped from the pursuit of the British war-vessels into Constantinople in August, 1914. The open alliance of Turkey with Germany followed almost immediately. Ferdinand of Bulgaria joined the same side in the summer of 1915. Those four states found no further allies until the end of the war. But on the other side there were adhesions until near the end. The following are the chief

Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance with Austria and Germany, but the union was felt to be an unnatural one and, when the war came, Italy declared that her treaty with Germany only contemplated help in a defensive war, and that this was on the side of Germany an aggressive war, and that Italy would therefore remain neutral. Italian opinion was in a great ferment. The desire to regain "unredeemed Italy" and indignation with such outrages as the sinking of the *Lusitania* were in conflict with considerations of safety and pecuniary profit. But in May, 1915, Italy declared war against Austria and threw herself into the cause of the allies.

Roumania was the next most important accession in Europe. She had shown her military strength in the later stages of the Balkan wars, her sympathies were usually with France and the west, to which her Latin origin seemed to attract her. But her royal family was a branch of the Hohenzollerns, and the family bond had often influenced her policy. When, however, King Carol died in 1914 the

situation changed, and two years later (August, 1916) Roumania declared war on Austria. The long Roumanian frontier and her untouched resources aroused the liveliest hopes of a great success. Her speedy collapse was one of the most bitter disappointments of the war.

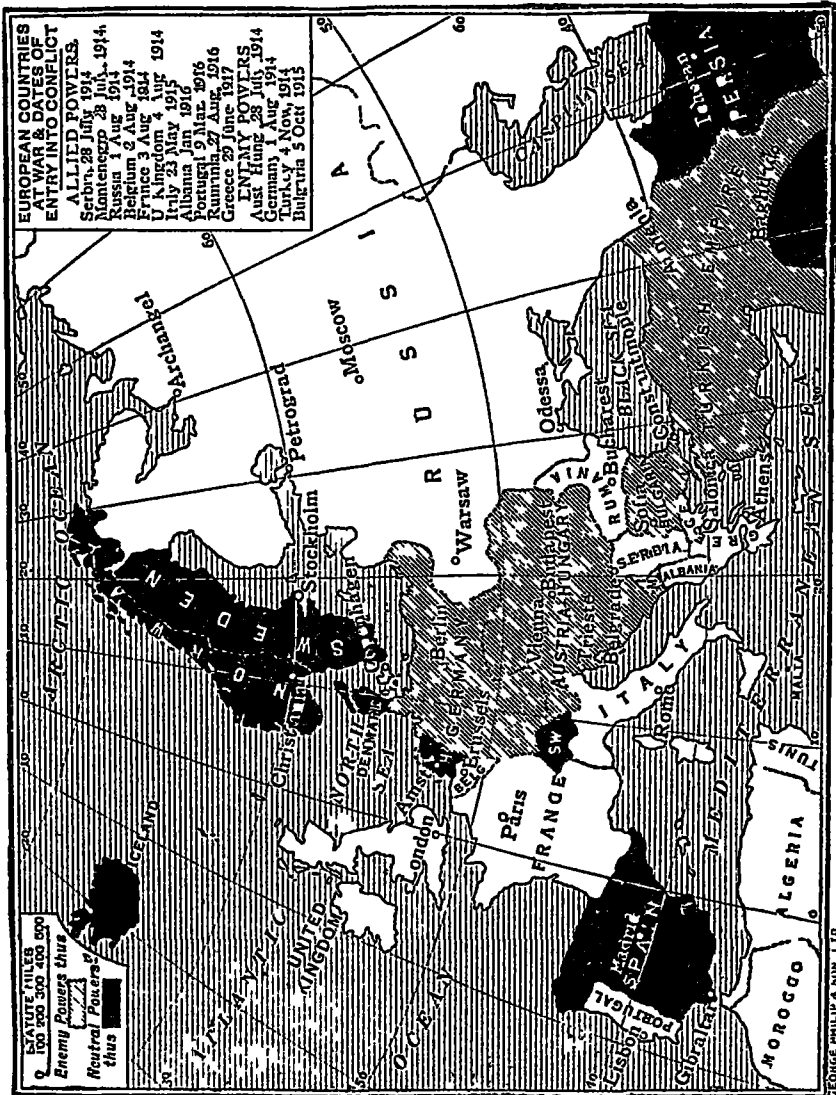
Greece had wavered long. The Greek queen was the sister of the German Kaiser, and the little state was exposed to cruel pressure from both sides. Her best-known statesman, Venizelos, had from the first supported the cause of the allies. In 1917 King Constantine was forced to abdicate. A little later Greece gave active help to the allies.

At the end of the war the only European states that remained neutral were Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, and Spain. The neutrals outside of Europe were hardly more numerous. From the first it was clear that the most distant parts of the world would be involved in the contest. For the enemies of Germany flung themselves upon her colonies in Africa and in the Pacific Ocean, while Japan attacked her possessions in China. Nearly all Africa was therefore involved from the first, as well as all the colonies and possessions of Great Britain, France, and Belgium. But for a time the American continents stood outside of the contest with the exception of Canada, which fought as a part of the British Empire. The last stage of the war saw the United States sucked into the whirlpool, and in the wake of the United States came most of the republics of South America.

When the end came the peace with Germany was signed by twenty-seven states. The armies reflected this amazing gathering of nations: the roads and frontiers of France were thick with men of every voice, language, and creed. No prophet had ever foretold so complete a world-war.

All the European nations from the outset, Great Britain from the end of 1915, the United States from the time of her entry, adopted the principle of compulsory service and called upon the whole manhood of the nation to take arms. The armies were in consequence huge beyond all precedent, and it is hardly possible that the world can be doomed to see greater. The casualties were even

larger than seemed to be implied by the numbers, for the fighting was close and desperate beyond all expectation. Some



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writers on military topics had said confidently that hand-to-hand fighting was for ever impossible, and that the bayonet might go the way of the Roman short sword and the armoured

knight But after a few weeks of open warfare the armies on the west established themselves in trench lines extending from Ostend to Switzerland, and there at short distance and with every kind of weapon carried on a murderous struggle, without armistice, truce, or rest, under the soil and in the air as well as on the earth's surface The statistics of the war have not yet been worked out, and estimates vary widely But more than fifty millions of men have been engaged in the fighting, the killed reach not less than eight millions, the wounded are perhaps four times as many A generation of the youth of Europe—who should have been the statesmen, the artists, the men of science, the religious leaders of the world—have been swept away.

Science from its beginning has been the ally of the soldier, but the alliance has had its sinister culmination in these terrible years The trenches have not been more Science and decisive arenas of the struggle than the laboratories the war and the engineering workshops of the different countries Napoleon's wars were hardly more different from Julius Cæsar's than these wars have been different from Napoleon's, in the weapons used and the methods employed Science had mastered a great many of the secrets of the universe during the past century, and the result has been an unparalleled destruction of human life Before the war it was clear that certain inventions would be of the utmost use to the soldier The submarine had for many years been a regular part of all navies, the airplane and the dirigible balloon (the Zeppelin, as it was called from its German inventor) were too recent inventions to have shown their military efficacy Both played a part of great influence on the character of the operations and on the result When hostilities had begun the inventors of all countries worked feverishly to discover new devices of attack or defence Poison gases and liquid fire were first employed by the Germans, but were then at once adopted by all combatants In September, 1915, there appeared in the British armies the armoured motor-cars, carrying machine-guns and specially constructed to cross the enemy's trenches, "Tanks" which received the nickname of "tanks" The German generals have admitted that these contributed largely

to their defeat. Tanks, airplanes, Zeppelins, and submarines all depended on the internal combustion engine, without which the war could hardly have been fought. Science also made during the war wonderful contributions to the sanitation of camps, the prevention of disease and the healing of wounds, but these fell very far short of the assistance she had rendered to slaughter. Here is a phase of the war which will arouse anxious thought and comment for a long time to come. Science stands at the bar of humanity.

No previous war ever taxed the energies of all the community as this did. There were no non-combatants. It was at first said that so huge a war must be a short one, and that, though the gigantic armies could be transported to the scene of action, they could not long be maintained there, because of the economic exhaustion of all the states concerned. But the modern state proved to have resources far greater than were suspected. The labour of women was called upon to an unprecedented extent, and in Great Britain their services were recognized by the grant of the parliamentary vote. The dress and deportment of women changed. The trams and the postal services, the offices, the munition factories, and even the agriculture of the various lands, fell largely into the hands of women. At the end, when famine attacked or threatened everywhere, still more clearly was every one a willing or an unwilling combatant. To feed sparingly became a mark of patriotism. But while Great Britain and her allies suffered some hardship and much inconvenience, famine fell cruelly upon the Central Powers.

A war in magnitude and in procedure quite unexampled! But in essential aim it was akin to most of the great European wars that preceded it during four centuries. It was essentially a war fought for the Balance of Power. Where there is no idea of right, and no power to enforce it, individuals fall spontaneously into groups in which the weak try to defend themselves against the strong. The balance of power does but imply the same spontaneous tendency in states. When the Roman Empire dominated the world there was no balance of power, nor did it apply during the Middle Ages, when the Catholic

Church and the Holy Roman Empire kept alive the idea of the unity of Europe based on certain standards of right. But with the beginning of the sixteenth century the weak bonds which had held Europe together were snapped; national egotism became the creed of every state, and the last four centuries show us a continuous conflict in which from time to time some one state—Spain or France or Austria or Prussia or the naval power of Great Britain—seems to threaten the independence and even the existence of its fellows. The weaker states have always combined against the stronger one, and they have never failed to drag it down. The Austro-Spanish power struggled against its rivals for more than a century, Louis XIV was overthrown in forty years; Great Britain had to yield to her opponents at the end of the war of American independence, Napoleon dominated Europe nearly twenty years, Prussia held Europe in awe from 1866 to 1918. It is as useless to denounce the principle of balance of power as the instinct of self-preservation. It is the rise of the state that has removed its analogy from private life, the settled world order, towards which it is hoped that the League of Nations is an important step, will alone prevent the states of the world from seeing in a stronger power a probable enemy and combining for self-defence.

II

To understand the war it is necessary to climb in imagination on to some height from which we may see all the theatres of the war, at least in Europe and Western Asia. Thus seen the war is, in its simplest expression, a long siege of the Central Powers. They struggle to break through the beleaguering lines of the enemy. For a moment they seem to succeed in the West, then they do succeed, at least partially, in the East. Meantime the besieging enemy increases in strength, and no reinforcements can come to the besieged. There is a last great effort to break out in the West. An apparent success is gained, but at suicidal cost. The enemy strikes again, and the Central Powers have to surrender at discretion.

To state the same thing more concretely, the Central Powers

were blockaded by the British and allied fleets and by the English and French armies in the west, and by Italy in the south. On the east they were faced by Russia and by the Balkan States. They could never really break the western and southern line, in the east they gained immense victories against Russians, Roumanians, and Serbians, and threatened the British hold on Egypt. It was a great series of victories, but it was not sufficient. The western and southern lines held firm. Then America threw into the scale her sword, her purse, and her enthusiasm. Even before the full weight of the American troops could make itself felt, the allies had broken through and beaten the Austro-Germans to their knees.

Again, if for clearness we try to mark the most important events of the war, they seem to be these: (1) The great rush by which the Germans hoped to finish this war at a blow, as they had finished the Austrian war in 1866 and the French in 1870. That failed by September, 1914. (2) For close on four years the armies in the west struggled without much variation of position, though with scores of great battles and deaths almost beyond counting. Meanwhile Russia was defeated, and after a wild outbreak of revolution forced to capitulate at Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918. (3) The United States declared war in April, 1917. (4) The assault of the German armies on the west in March, 1918, seemed for a time to promise them victory, but (5) all was ended by the counter-offensive of the allies, which began in July and ended with the armistice of November 11, 1918. (6) Underlying and conditioning all these events was the continuous vigilance and pressure of the British and allied navies. The war is one more illustration of the vast importance of naval power even for military operations that seem remote from the sea.

III

The German government and people were confident of victory, but conscious of the magnitude of the task before them. The eastern frontier of France had been German invasion of elaborately fortified, and a rapid victory was not Belgium likely to attend a direct attack there. It was decided, therefore, to attack by way of Belgium, though

Belgium had done nothing to forfeit her rights as a neutral, which Germany had herself promised to observe. If Belgium could be induced, by terror or persuasion, to allow the German armies to pass, it was possible that France might be overthrown by an even swifter blow than that which had been so fatal in 1870, and that then Germany might deal separately with her Eastern enemies. So though, as Bethmann-Hollweg admitted, the breach of international right was flagrant it was accepted as a necessity of war, and the German armies marched out to "hew their way" to victory.

The Belgian adventure was disappointing from the first, and perhaps in the long run fatal to German hopes. For in the first place the German army encountered a bold defiance and an unexpectedly strong resistance from the small state, whose refusal to yield to threats or promises is among the noblest things in history. The resistance of Belgium. Liege held out for some precious days until the great siege guns were brought up. Then the German invaders tried to force Belgium to surrender by acts of cruelty and violence, which were contrary to all international agreements and almost unexampled in warfare between civilized nations. Belgium stood firm in spite of all. She appealed for help to France and Great Britain, who were among the guarantors of her neutrality, and began a struggle in which her troops were driven from one great city after another, but held on to a tiny corner of Belgian territory until four years later triumph came to reward her tenacity and her valour.

Not only were the Germans delayed by the resistance of Belgium, but their disregard of the country's neutrality made the interference of Great Britain inevitable. Before 1866 Prussia had been warned by Lord Stanley Great Britain enters the war that if she desired the neutrality of Great Britain she must not touch Belgium, and now every consideration of honour and of safety brought her into the struggle along with France. The Liberal government, in which Asquith was Prime Minister, Lloyd George Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Edward Grey Foreign Minister, was supported by the Conservative party, and despatched the British expeditionary army to France. It was eagerly welcomed by the French President,

Poincaré, and the French Prime Minister, Viviani. Thus began a partnership in arms, which stood the terrible strain of the four years' war wonderfully well, and has, it is hoped, laid the foundation of a permanent understanding between the two peoples.

At the time, however, nothing could withstand the German deluge. The organization of the invaders was wonderful, it seemed that everything had been thought out and prepared for. Namur fell with disappointing rapidity after Liège. The French were heavily defeated at Charleroi after stubborn fighting, and the English army escaped from an encircling movement by a rapid retreat from Mons. German cavalry reached within twelve miles of Paris. The fall of the city was prophesied, and the seat of government was hastily removed to Bordeaux. It was the darkest hour of the war, which was destined to have many. Then came a sudden and decisive reversal of fortune, in which the over-confidence of the German leaders, and the unshaken courage, energy, and organizing capacity of the French played the most important parts. Von Kluck moved from the west to the east, hoping to envelop the French army. He thus afforded an opening for a counter-attack, which General Joffre made use of with great effect. Exposed to a flank attack, the German army, in a series of great struggles, which are known as the Battle of the Marne, was forced to retreat all along the line, and to a considerable depth. A great tract of French territory was thus redeemed from the invader and a success gained, which is now seen to be a decisive incident in the war. Germany had missed her spring, if she had gained it she might perhaps have reduced France and Britain to a position in which it would have been impossible for them to continue the struggle effectively. The Germans never again came so near to the possibility of victory.

Yet some disappointment for the allies followed. The retreat of the Germans did not become a rout, they fell back on to prepared fortifications, and defied all efforts to break through. Soon on both sides the armies began to dig themselves into trenches, which stretched from the sea to the Alps, and in them for the next four years

millions of men endured sufferings that to the imagination seemed beyond the limits of human patience

The victory of the Marne was badly needed to compensate for a heavy defeat that had been received by the Russians. Great hopes had been placed in the Russian army, Russians which was believed to have been completely re-defeated at formed since its defeat in the Japanese War Tannenberg There were even wild reports of Russian troops that were passing through England to the French front The facts were less encouraging A Russian army invaded the eastern provinces of Prussia and gained important victories Then, on August 26, 1914, they were attacked at Tannenberg by a German army under Hindenburg, who, taking the great risks that the situation demanded, inflicted upon them an overwhelming defeat Thus early the Eastern and Western fronts presented the contrast of characteristics which they maintained to the end tenacious resistance and victory for the allies in the west, in the east splendid but transitory Russian victories, and then complete ruin

IV

THE WESTERN FRONT

For three years and a half, from September, 1914, to March, 1918, the struggle deepened in intensity Both sides indulged in loud prophecies of victory The Germans declared that a complete victory was certain before each autumn, the allies indulged in hopes of an early "break through" and the disruption of Germany The Western and Italian fronts employed during this period the larger forces and attracted most attention, but despite the herculean efforts of both sides no definite result came from the continual holocausts of victims In the east there were alternations of victory and defeat, and great results gained which seemed to flatter the highest German hopes

But first let us cast a hasty glance on the course of the naval war, where defeat for the allies would have meant the failure of American supplies and munitions, the The naval definite defeat of Great Britain and her Dominions, war and probably the starvation of France and of Italy The

result here may be very quickly told. The Germans gained temporary successes, individual cruisers harried the commerce of the allies, their submarines displayed great daring and skill. But the real supremacy of the allied fleets was hardly challenged and never shaken. In December, 1914, a German naval force which had defeated a small British squadron was destroyed by Admiral Sturdee at the Falkland Islands. The greatest German effort was made in May, 1916, when the German fleet sailed out from the Kiel Canal and encountered Admiral Beatty and the advance guard of the British fleet off Jutland. He inflicted heavy damage on the British, but suffered heavily himself, and when Jellicoe with the main British fleet appeared the Germans escaped with all speed. They made no further serious attempt on the naval power of the allies, and henceforth trusted almost entirely to their submarines. A close blockade was kept on Germany, and by 1916 there was serious scarcity of food and of some munitions of war.

The struggle in France and Belgium occupied more attention than any other. Scores of battles involving greater numbers and heavier fighting than Waterloo were fought there, yet the general result can be shortly stated. The line sagged and swayed, bulging now this way now that, but usually to the advantage of the allies, until the great German offensive of March, 1918. All methods of slaughter that the ingenuity of mankind could devise were employed there: poison gas and liquid fire, mines and balloons and airplanes, artillery with a range of scores of miles, trench-mortars, hand grenades, trench knives, bayonets—nothing was wanting. And wet and cold added vastly to the miseries which were borne on both sides with wonderful fortitude. Our space renders it impossible to do more than mention the chief of the titanic efforts on this front.

A Belgian force held the line nearest the coast. Then came the British army, first under the command of Sir John French and later of Sir Douglas Haig. The centre of their resistance was Ypres—before the war a lovely medieval city, containing a fine cathedral and many noble buildings, besides the much-praised cloth-hall, now a heap of hardly distinguishable ruins. And its fate is but

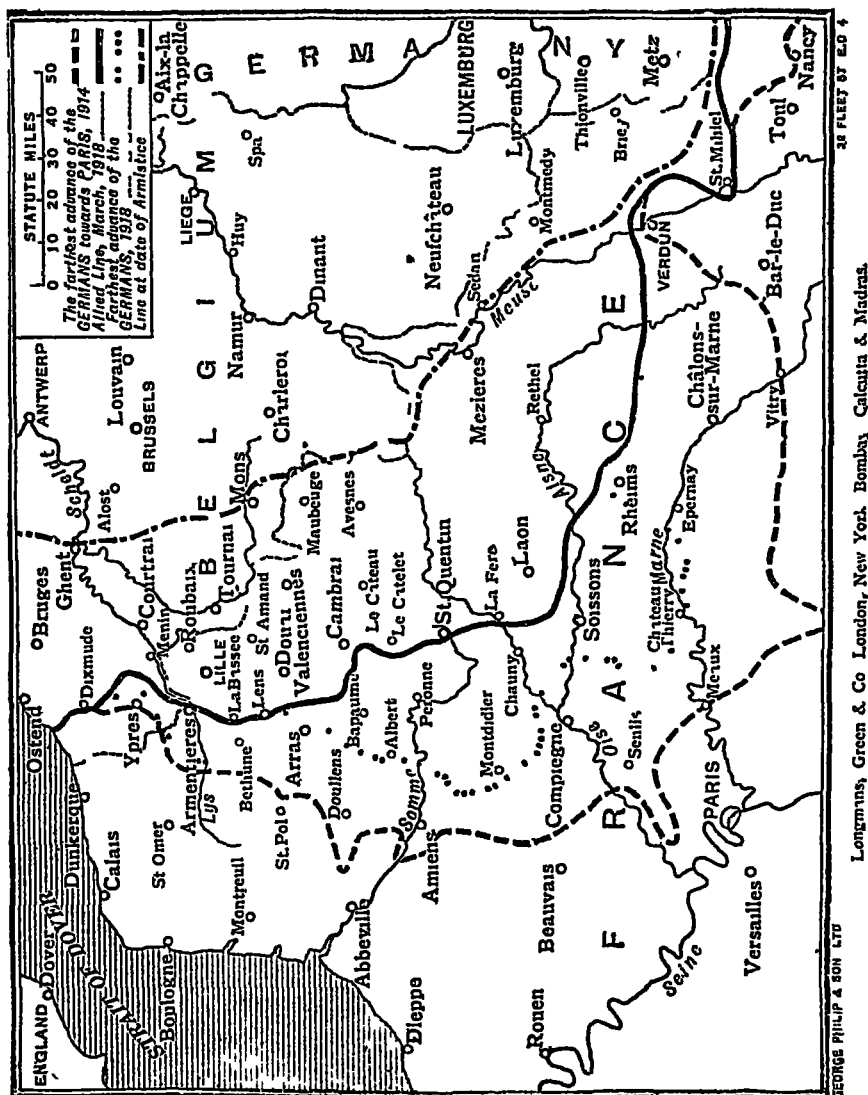
typical of the fate of scores of towns and of hundreds of villages on the Western front. If the Germans could have broken through there they would perhaps have mastered the Channel ports. In October, 1914, there was a fierce attack which was beaten off with the utmost difficulty. In April, 1915, there came another. The use of poison gas, of which the British had here their first experience, opened for a time a wide gap in the British line. It had to be withdrawn and shortened, but the Ypres front had proved impassable. In the third battle of Ypres the British were the aggressors. From July to November, 1917, there was heavy fighting in front of the heap of ruins that had once been a town. Ground was gained, some thousands of prisoners were taken, the British established themselves on Paschendaele ridge. The confidence of the German command was rudely shaken, but the cost had been terrible, and Sir Douglas Haig afterwards declared that the operation had exhausted rather than strengthened his armies.

The next great battle was at Arras and on the upper waters of the Somme. Here first the French and later the British were stationed. Here in July, 1916, was fought the great battle of the Somme. After long fighting the German line was pushed back some considerable distance, and though there was disappointment because more was not gained, it was realized later that the fighting had done much to relieve the pressure on the French at Verdun.

Further south and east the French held Reims with a grip that was never shaken, though the city was cruelly shelled and the great cathedral—one of the priceless treasures of European art—was deplorably damaged. There was much fighting round Reims, but it is the next French stronghold that most deserves our attention.

Verdun, on the Meuse, commanded one of the chief routes to Paris. There was every motive for both the attack and the defence to put forth all their energies. The Crown Prince of Germany was in command of the attack, and the defence was chiefly in the hands of General Petain. All the horrors and all the heroisms of war are accumulated in the story of the fighting round Verdun, which is likely to

become the proudest chapter in the French annals of the war. The struggle was renewed again and again, four several



in August, 1917, the French recovered, by a series of remarkable assaults, nearly all the ground that had been lost. As many German hopes were buried at Verdun as at Ypres.

There is no doubt that the general result of this fighting was unfavourable to the Germans. In March, 1917, they retreated to a line that they had long been carefully preparing—the so-called Hindenburg line retreat. The move was carried out with great skill and with little loss, and it embarrassed the operations of the allies. A great attack was planned by General Nivelle for April, 1917, and decisive results were confidently predicted. Some success was gained, but at an incredible cost, which the sadly depleted population of France could hardly bear. Yet if the war on the west had stood alone there would have been confidence as to the events of the next year. It was the news from the Russian front that created great anxiety, and to the Russian front we must turn.

V

THE EASTERN FRONT

The time has not yet come when the history of Russia during the war can be written. There have been many forces at work to falsify the narrative of events there—hope and fear, disappointment and hatred. Here we can only give the chief events in the strange story.

We have already seen how the victory of Tannenberg balanced in the German mind the check of the Marne. But in spite of that heavy blow the Russian army gained great successes for twelve months after victories that they struck deep into Galicia, where they found a ready welcome from many of the inhabitants. The great city of Lemberg fell in September, 1914. It was believed the Russians might soon be before Cracow. But the great fortress of Przemyśl lay on the route, and it did not surrender until March, 1915, when over 100,000 Austrians laid down their arms. High hopes were entertained of the passage of the Carpathians and the invasion of Hungary, but to hope from Russia was all through the war to be disappointed. There was nothing on the east that corresponded to the unbreakable

iron rampart on the west. Nothing in the past history of Russia warranted a belief in her capacity for carrying on with success the huge war where organization, science, and tenacity counted for more than courage or mere endurance. If the Russian front held, the defeat of Germany was certain and at an early date. The Germans prepared for a heavy assault, and great armies were put under the command of Mackensen, who shares with Ludendorff and Hindenburg what military glory was won by the Germans during the war. He drove in a wedge that forced the Russians to abandon Przemyśl, Lemberg, and Warsaw. The Russian armies under the Grand Duke Nicholas made an orderly retreat, but great territories had fallen into the hands of the Germans by August, 1915. They had occupied Poland, Lithuania, and Courland.

In spite of this failure the hopes of a great Russian triumph were never higher than in 1916. Arms and munitions had been sent round in great quantities to Brussilof's great offensive Archangel, and had made their way from thence to the Russian armies. With ranks refilled and reorganized Brussilof attacked the Austrians in Volhynia and the Bukovina. The results were amazing. Day by day the news came of towns taken, lands occupied, and thousands of prisoners captured. The Bukovina was conquered and the prisoners were said to number 400,000, though many of these were due rather to voluntary surrender than to capture in battle. But this was not realized at the time, and anything seemed possible to Brussilof. The greatest result of his victories was the declaration of Roumania, which had long wavered, that she was prepared to join the allies. Now a great victory seemed assured. A new long front would be opened. The German and Austrian armies, hard pressed to defend their present line, would be unequal to their new task. It was confidently prophesied that the end of the war was at hand.

Among the disappointments of the war this was the bitterest. Some day we may know how much of the result is to be ascribed to the audacity and organization of Mackensen, and how much to the exhaustion, the political ferment, and perhaps even the treason of Roumania. It is enough to state that before the end of the

year Mackensen had driven back the Roumanian forces that had begun to invade Transylvania, and had occupied Bucharest, the capital, and Roumania itself. After this no other small state lying within the sweep of Germany's sword was likely to join in the struggle against her.

The spring of 1917 brought a sinister comment on the strange fluctuations in Russia's power. The country had indeed seemed to throw itself whole-heartedly into the war, but there had been strange political fermentation of which few hints had been allowed to reach the west of Europe. In June, 1916, Lord Kitchener—the organizer of the British armies—had been drowned whilst on his road to Russia. To the student of history it is plain that Russia was in exactly the condition in which revolutions are most apt to occur. Autocratic government can do things that are impossible to a constitutional state, but it is the most unstable form of government and depends largely on success. The government of the Czar had a record of unsuccessful wars, and was always confronted by the passionate demand of a large section of the people for change. There was no experience of liberty to inspire wisdom or suggest prudence. A great victory in the war would have strengthened the government. Triumphs had come, but also defeats that more than counterbalanced them. The sufferings of the people and their losses in the war had been great even beyond the measure of Western Europe.

Revolution came in March, 1917. The Czar abdicated and was carried away to an obscure and terrible fate in Siberia. The task of creating a new government proved immensely difficult. No constitution after the English or French pattern was acceptable. Socialism triumphed, and among the Socialists the extreme section. The teaching of Karl Marx, the German Socialist, and the example of the French Communists of 1871, had fallen on fertile ground in Russia. The men who at last came to the front—Lenin and Trotsky—repudiated the idea of an equal democracy, and declared for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat (of the poorest class, that is) to the entire exclusion from power of all others. In July

Brussilof made another attack and gained great initial success but again all collapsed through the action of the political authorities

For the new government the war had no meaning Germany was not more disliked, as a state and government, than France, England, or America In March, 1918, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was arranged Russia was to pay a great indemnity and cede large territories We shall not follow Russian history further A great chapter is perhaps beginning there, certainly a great experiment in social and political organization is being tried For us it is enough to note that Germany had thrown down the whole barrier that shut her in upon the east

VI

THE BALKANS

The success of the Central Powers in the Balkans was hardly less There too there were high hopes which were not realized Twice the Serbians drove out the invading Austrian armies with great loss Turkey had been at once attacked, for her adhesion to the Central Powers was of the utmost importance If only the passage of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus had been forced supplies could have been got to the Russian armies easily and rapidly, and the Russian corn would have been of the greatest use to the Western Powers When an allied force chiefly consisting of British and Colonial troops landed on the Gallipoli peninsula in April, 1915, a rapid and decisive victory was hoped for There followed instead months of desperate fighting under peculiarly painful conditions and, after many actions of great heroism, the force was withdrawn in December, 1915 Before that time utter ruin had fallen on Serbia The armies that were allotted to the invasion of the Balkans were entrusted to Mackensen, and he scored another unqualified triumph The Serbian army and people were driven in flight through the mountains to find what refuge and exile they could in France or Italy or

England Monastir was taken An allied force was landed at Salonica, and there clung to a little strip of coast, a motley assemblage of French and Serbians, Greeks and British, with little prospect of triumph Thus in the south-east, as well as the east, the Germans and their allies had broken through the wall that had been built against them

VII

ITALY

The entry of Italy into the war on the side of the allies had been greeted with great enthusiasm The winning of Italian liberty had seemed to many the most glorious event of the nineteenth century, and it seemed right that Italy should take her place along with the constitutionally governed states The help of Italy seemed to make victory secure, and here the hopes were not disappointed, but the struggle was longer and more severe than had been anticipated

Italian troops attacked at once in the Eastern Alps Fighting went on at great height and among the perpetual snows If the epithet "romantic" can be applied Italian to any part of this grim war, it will suit the feats of victories the mountaineers who fought in regions hardly accessible to ordinary men The year 1916 saw fluctuations of victory and defeat, but the advantage lay with the Italians The Austrians pushed down through the Tientino, but were driven back On the eastern Italian front the Italians gained a great victory by the capture of Gorizia in August Thus 1917 opened with high hopes In August General Cadorna occupied a part of the Bainsizza plateau and took many prisoners But he had lost heavily, and had advanced so as to expose his flanks The Austrians saw their chance, and with the help of some of the troops that had won Mackensen his great success they fell upon General Cadorna at Caporetto There The followed one of the greatest disasters that befel battle of the allies in the west An Italian army was broken Caporetto up The Austrians claimed 250,000 prisoners, and poured down into the plain above Venice But the Italians showed

great resource in presence of the catastrophe Venice did not fall Help came from England and France, and, though much Italian territory was abandoned, the line was restored

VIII

TURKEY

We cannot even touch on all the theatres of this unparalleled war The struggle for the German colonies will not be dealt with, nor the steps by which the German power was expelled from China, and the later phases of the struggle in Russia will be passed over But the fate of Turkey was of great importance for the issue of the war and for the destinies of mankind Her government was a military autocracy, and naturally felt sympathy for the kindred powers of Germany and Austria Since her defeat before Vienna in 1683 there had hardly been a decade in which she had not lost power or territory She doubtless hoped to regain ground with the help of Germany's all-conquering sword For Germany the Turkish lands opened a road through which a blow might be aimed at the British power in India and Egypt The railway that had been planned from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf had already been constructed along a good part of its course

A Turkish attack on Egypt was made in 1915, but without success Earlier in the year Indian troops had landed at the mouth of the Euphrates, and a force under General Townshend's brilliant victories approached Bagdad But he had insufficient forces, and he had to retreat before the reinforced armies of the Turks He was blockaded in Kut, where, in spite of efforts to relieve him, he was forced to surrender in April, 1916 It was a serious check, which in itself indecisive seemed likely to shake British prestige in the East

The tables were turned in 1917 Without German support Turkey was unequal to a contest with a power organized and armed after the modern fashion, and Germany had so many calls elsewhere that she could spare little help for

the Turks. General Maude, with a larger and more carefully prepared force marched up the Tigris once more in January, 1917. There was heavy fighting, but victory followed victory. Kut was retaken in February. Bagdad—so long a name of romance and mystery—fell in March. The power of Turkey was clearly broken in that region.

An even more complete ruin fell upon her in Palestine. Her armies had been pushed back from the Egyptian frontier, but the effort to penetrate Palestine had been held up for a long time by the resistance of Gaza. In the summer of 1917 the Palestine army was put under the command of General Allenby. At the end of October he struck with instant success. Gaza was left on one side and the route to Beer-sheba chosen. Beer-sheba fell and the road to Capture of Jerusalem was opened. On December 9, 1917, the Jerusalem Holy City was taken without a struggle. Bagdad, Babylon, Nineveh, Jerusalem, and Egypt—the earliest homes of civilization—were all now under the control of the British.

fail The effort of Germany in its continuity and its magnitude had been prodigious It was clear that the strain must have brought her near to exhaustion But her enemies, with the exception of the United States of America, were certainly also suffering from exhaustion American troops were arriving, and they were a great source of confidence But the treaty with Russia had released vast German armies for use elsewhere It was certain that with the coming of the spring a blow would be launched against the allied line in the west

The German preparations were conducted by Ludendorff, who was now in supreme command, and were carried out with amazing secrecy The long-prepared blow fell on March 21, 1918, near St Quentin, where was the point of junction between the French and British armies, and it fell mainly on the British Fifth Army It achieved an immediate success There had been none so great since the very first days of the war The Germans had so many reserves that blow followed blow with stunning rapidity First the attacks in March carried the Germans to within a few miles of Amiens, and allowed them to interrupt traffic along an important railway Then in April the ruins of Ypres were again the centre of a long and desperate combat in which the aim of the Germans was to break through to the Channel ports Ypres still held firm, but to the south the line bent dangerously, and when Bailleul fell it almost seemed that the line was broken In May the French armies in the neighbourhood of Reims were attacked The French lost the Chemin des Dames, which had cost them such efforts, and though Reims held on as stoutly as Ypres, the German armies advanced far down towards the Marne In July German divisions crossed the Marne After all the efforts and agonies of four and a half years, the enemy again threatened Paris It added to the impression of their victory on the common mind that, shortly after the opening of the great offensive in March, they had begun to bombard Paris with huge cannon—"the big Berthas"—from a distance of seventy-five miles

Is there in all history a more sudden and complete reversal

of fortune than was seen in the next four months? While Germany was covered with flags of victory, and was The turn resounding with songs of triumph, the counter- of fortune stroke was preparing which would fling to ruin her armies, her government, and her emperor. The German effort, despite its vast success, had so exhausted the reserves that it was probably a mistake. On the side of the allies there was no panic, but only a more resolute determination to fight to the end. Troops were hurried over from England and America. Above all, unity of command was secured by giving the General supreme command over all troops on the Western Foch front to General Foch, who was known before the war as a teacher of military subjects, and who during the war had distinguished himself by his coolness and skill. His will be the one great military reputation that the war bequeaths to history. Though he had always advocated the counter-offensive, and saw in the confidence of his soldiers the great instrument of victory, he knew also how to wait, when critics were calling for action.

Action came on July 18, in what may be called the second battle of the Marne. There had been some successful counter-strokes already, notably by Australian troops, but The second now the German line gave way, first gradually battle of and after much resistance, then everywhere and in the Marne. complete defeat. All parts of the allied armies shared in the work. The first attack was chiefly carried out by French and American troops. The British armies, less exhausted than the French, played the leading part in the rest of the war. They attacked on the Amiens front on August 8, and drove back the Germans with heavy loss. The "tanks" Germany's rendered great assistance. Ludendorff, in his "black memoirs, has called this the "black day" of the day " German army. There were three months' fighting after this, and for the British it was some of the most costly fighting of the war. For Germany it is a continuous record of defeat. Then fortified lines (the Hindenburg line), which had been prepared with so much care, were captured. The The Belgian army took Bruges and Ghent. German Armistice. military supremacy, which had overshadowed Europe since

1866, lay in the dust The German Kaiser abdicated and the new government appealed for an armistice, and it came after much negotiation on November 11, 1918

There was no good fortune for Germany elsewhere to compensate for the catastrophe on the West front The allies triumphed everywhere (1) The Italians had fully repaired the disaster of Caporetto They had Bulgaria, sharply defeated the Austrians in June—a month before Foch's counter-offensive In October General Diaz carried out a great attack, and the Austrians everywhere gave way, leaving prisoners by the hundred thousand in the hands of the Italians (2) The Bulgarians had surrendered first of all the enemy powers Without the backing and the control of the Germans they were no match for the enemy The Serbians were the first to pierce the line Soon the whole of the allied armies advanced, and Bulgaria had to surrender at discretion (September 29) (3) It was already clear that Turkey's power of resistance was nearing its end In September General Allenby, by a brilliant series of manoeuvres, in which the cavalry played an important part, swept the Turkish power out of Palestine and advanced irresistibly on Damascus Turkey surrendered at the end of October

The naval war had few great days since the battle of Jutland, but all depended on it And it seemed at one moment as if German submarines had found "the Achilles heel of invulnerable England" They caused great inconvenience and some distress, but the navies of the allies proved equal to the

emergency Shipbuilding was hurried on, inventions were found for detecting and destroying the submarines, by great and successful daring the harbours of Zeebrugge and Ostend were made useless for them When the armistice came the surrender of a large part of the German fleet was insisted on This act of unsurpassed triumph and humiliation came on November 21

X

The German fleet had surrendered The allied armies advanced to the Rhine The war was over A task remained

as important and as difficult as the winning of the war The Peace had to be established

Three figures dominate the peace negotiations the American President, Woodrow Wilson, and the French and English Prime Ministers, Lloyd George and Woodrow Clemenceau It was very slowly that the American Wilson President had recognized the necessity for America's participation in the war, but the "unrestricted" submarine campaign had hardly left him an alternative, if the United States were to continue to count as a great power In all that he said about the war he had insisted on the paramount necessity of finding some organization of the civilized world that should make it possible to avoid in the future such a catastrophe as the Great War, and he had made himself the special champion of the idea of the League of Nations He perhaps did not The League realize the difficulty of allaying the tempest of passion of Nations and jealousy and fear that had been unchained by the war, but if the League of Nations gives to the world the great peace that is hoped from it, the name of President Wilson will shine among the greatest benefactors of mankind Lloyd George had succeeded to Asquith as Prime Minister at the Lloyd end of 1916 His hopefulness, eloquence, and George energy had contributed much to the success of the allies No name on the side of the allies is so closely connected with the whole war as his Among the politicians of Europe only he and the German Emperor played a leading part in the war from the beginning to the end Clemenceau—an Clémenceau old man, who had lived through the war of 1870 ceau and the Commune, and had been well known ever since as a fiery journalist and politician—became Prime Minister in November, 1917 He gave energy and stability to the French administration, and when the negotiations for peace began at Paris he was chosen to preside over them His was assuredly the most picturesque figure there He was shot at, and a bullet which lodged in his shoulder could not be removed, but after a very short interval he took again his place at the conference, energetic and indomitable

President Wilson, in a message to Congress on January 8, 1918, had laid down the conditions on which peace might be

accepted by the allies These became celebrated as "the fourteen points," and it was on the supposition that these would be incorporated in the peace that Germany accepted the bitter terms of the armistice on November 11 They included the evacuation and full restoration by the Germans and their allies of all territory that they had occupied, an independent Poland, the freedom of the seas, removal of all economic barriers, the return of Alsace and Lorraine to France, freedom for the different nationalities comprised in Austria-Hungary, readjustment of the Italian frontier according to the lines of nationality Finally as crown of all, the establishment of a League of Nations

It was important to lay down definite principles for the peace, but, when the diplomatists assembled, the task of interpreting these principles into clauses in a treaty and of bringing into harmony the rival passions and ambitions proved insuperable The assembled diplomatists were in no mood to work out President Wilson's dream of a new world-order He managed, at any rate, to prefix to the Peace Treaty the Covenant of the League of Nations, of which we must say more in a moment

No representative of the Central Powers was admitted to the conference The representatives of the allies debated sometimes in open, sometimes in secret session, and the result of their decisions was communicated first to the German representatives, and subsequently to those of the other enemy powers Among the great crowd of diplomatists and ambassadors the chief influence lay with the representatives of the United States, of Great Britain, of France, of Italy, and of Japan And as Japan was mainly concerned with Asiatic problems, the chief decisions were taken by the first four—"the Big Four" as they were called—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clémenceau, and Orlando

Never were there so many or so important treaties to be drawn up, and it is still uncertain whether all the stipulations can be carried into effect But the main lines of the settlement are plain

Germany was rudely awakened from the dreams of world supremacy, which some of her statesmen and politicians had cherished. A wave of revolution spread over the land. The Kaiser abdicated, and fled to Holland. Germany. The other crowned heads of Germany all disappeared. A republic was declared, though the name of Empire was not dropped. A vast indemnity was to be paid to Belgium, France, and the rest of the allies in proportion to the damage received. Alsace and Lorraine were made French again. But there is no sign of any break up of German unity, the work of Frederick the Great and of Bismarck is not undone. Germany remains a great power, and her people are the same industrious, talented race as before. They have a great part to play still, and will contribute as before to the thought and the science of the world.

The Austrian Empire suffered far more. It has almost disappeared from the map. Six independent states hold the territories that were ruled by the head of the Hapsburgs. These are (1) Austria, (2) Hungary (now independent), (3) Jugo-Slavia, which includes the Slavonic populations of Austria, and what was formerly Serbia and Montenegro, (4) Roumania, which has annexed Transylvania, (5) Poland, which has gathered to itself again the territories that were divided among Russia, Prussia, and Austria, (6) Czecho-Slovakia, under which strange name is included what was once Bohemia and Moravia.

The entirely new creations in Central Europe are Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, for Jugo-Slavia is but Serbia expanded. Both these states have grave difficulties to face, external and internal, both must look to the League of Nations for support and help against powerful neighbours. Both interest the historian as showing the vitality of historical traditions. Even when the world lies in ruins its refashioning follows inevitably the lines suggested by the memories of mankind. *Pulvis veterum renouatur*.

Bulgaria emerged without much change. She had to abandon her ambition of dominating the Balkans and be

content to share influence there with Serbia, Roumania, and Greece. To Greece fell considerable additions of territory, and she gained large possessions in the west of Asia Minor. This will be a wonderful return to ancient conditions, for at the dawn of history it was in those lands that the Greeks took their first great steps in science and philosophy, poetry and art.

Turkey suffered more severely than from any treaty in her history. Constantinople and the Dardanelles were left in her hands, but her power in Europe was gone and her power in Asia much crippled. It seems certain that Syria will come under French influence and Palestine under British. There is good ground for hope that the war along with all its evils may bring, in the end, real relief to the lands that have suffered so long under Turkish misrule.

All the treaties are to be preceded by the Covenant of the League of Nations. Its opening sentences express in moderate language the aims of a movement with which the hopes of humanity are bound up. "The High Contracting Parties in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this covenant of the League of Nations."

This new Solemn League and Covenant, this Charter which it is hoped may be the Great Charter of the world's peace, was signed by the representatives of twenty-seven powers, the representatives of the Central Powers not being for the present admitted. Thirteen other states were "invited to accede." What is it that they have sworn to?

In twenty-six articles they have promised to submit any cause of dispute that may arise to a court of arbitration, or to the Council of the League for inquiry and suggestion, if the quarrel is not suitable for its merits.

arbitration They promise to protect all members of the League against attack Should any war break out in spite of all precautions they promise to use all means, economic or military, to coerce the aggressive state

Such provisions look only towards the maintenance of peace, but the League contemplates also the establishment not of a world state, but of permanent institutions The Assembly for considering the interests of the civilized world and carrying out such action as is agreed on in Council the interest of all There is to be a consultative assembly consisting of representatives of all the members of the League But the really important body is to be the Council consisting of representatives of the United States, of Great Britain, of France, of Italy, and of Japan, and of four other states to be chosen from the whole body of members by the assembly

Such are the means by which the founders of the League hoped to achieve human peace and progress The greatest of the many great questions that face the civilized world is concerned with the future and the success of this new organization

There was at first a chorus of rather sentimental welcome The League was greeted as though it were a talisman that would at once assuage all passions and make war for ever impossible Later, when it was seen that the war had left behind it a terrible ground-swell of passion and greed, and that devotion to the interests of humanity had by no means inspired all the deliberations of the Peace Conference, there was a marked reaction against the earlier enthusiasm The League was declared to be a sham and a trap, sometimes with exultation by those who desired the old, fierce struggle of international competition, sometimes with bitter regret by those who had hoped to see the immediate establishment of peace and goodwill

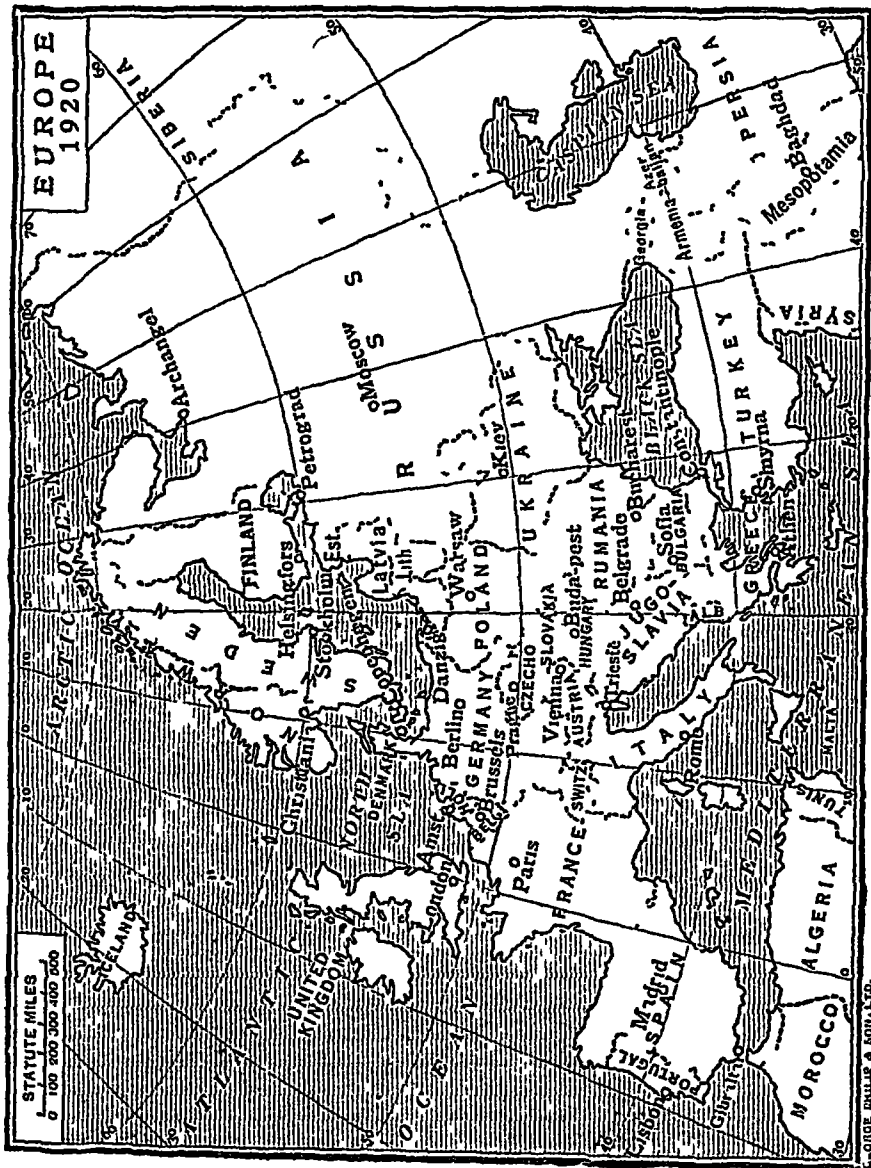
The parallel that has been suggested with the Great Charter of English history may help us to a sober confidence How dangerous were many of the materials that went to the making of that Charter, how far it fell short of immediately realizing its promise! And yet it became henceforth a standard round which the constitutional

force of the country could rally until victory had been won. When all deductions have been made the League of Nations is clearer in its aims and more unquestionably right than the Great Charter was. Those who love their country as an instrument to the well-being of humanity will have henceforth a sign and a standard to guide them in international controversy. To support and, if necessary, to amend and strengthen the League is henceforth the touchstone of honourable statesmanship.

We have traced in dim outline in this book the course of less than three thousand years. Behind the beginning of that period there stretches back an unmeasured period of human development, a little part of it slightly known by its remains of weapons, utensils and tools, the greater part of it quite unknown. And before us we cannot doubt that countless centuries stretch, and that eventually even the Great War will be one with the wars of the Greeks and Persians, of the Romans and the Carthaginians, of the struggles between France and Spain. The period of history that we can trace encourages us to believe that the forces which make for human sympathy and unity are as real as those other undoubted forces which make for hostility and war, that during these three thousand years there has been a movement, not steady or uninterrupted, but strong, which has drawn men together and has made them seek perpetually for wider and wider forms of association. The union of mankind in peace and co-operation has been the theme of prophecy, the goal of all religions, and especially of Christianity, and must become now the conscious aim of statesmanship.

Still glides the Stream, and shall for ever glide,
 The Form remains, the Function never dies,
 While we, the brave, the mighty, and the wise,
 We Men, who in our morn of youth defied
 The elements, must vanish, be it so!
 Enough, if something from our hands have power
 To live, and act, and serve the future hour,
 And if, as toward the silent tomb we go,
 Through love, through hope, and faith's transcendent
 dower,
 We feel that we are greater than we know

WORDSWORTH.



INDEX TO PART III

A

ADRIANOPLE, captured by Bulgars, 802, retaken by Turks, 803
 Africa, rising in Soudan, 777, Boer war, 777, 778, partition of, 789, Union of South, 794, German possessions in, 801, the Moroccan question, 801, Tripoli annexed, 802
 Alexander II of Russia, accession, 791, assassination, 792
 Alexander III of Russia, accession, 792, policy, 792
 Allenby, General, 825, 828
 Alliances, of three Emperors, 796, 798, Triple, 799, Balkan League, 802, Entente Cordiale, 799
 Allies, The, 06
 Alsace, 560, gained by France in the "reunions," 580, ceded to Germany, 59, 799, freed, 830
 Alva, 489, 503, 510
 America, influence on the French Revolution, 662
 America, South, plundered, 540, influence on French Revolution, 662, 717, War of Independence, 707, 714-717, French and British rivalry in, 712, 713
 Amiens, 826
 Ancient Regime, characteristics of, 653
 Anjou, Duke of, in the Netherlands, 511
 Anne, of England, 612, 705, parliament under, 704, personal influence of, 704
 Antwerp, 512, rival of London, 719, captured, 827
 Aragon, Catherine of, marriage, 539, divorce, 539

Arbitration, Alabama case, 772, Hague Conference, 800, 801
 Archangel, 820
 Armada, Great, 540
 Armistice, 812, 828
 Army, in England, 530, 532, billeting, 601, in the Civil War, 603, 604, in Commonwealth, 605, controlled by Parliament, 611, reformed, 771
 Art, in the Netherlands, 512, in sixteenth century, 546, in the eighteenth century, 703
 Articles, statute of Six, passed, 533, withdrawn, 534
 Asquith, premier, 794, administration, 794, 795, 813, 829
 Association, growth and tendency in nineteenth century, 783, 784, Roman Empire's attitude towards, 784, of worship, 787
 Austria, engaged in revolutionary war, 678, accepts peace of Campo-Formio, 681, second coalition against France, 682, accepts Peace of Lunéville, 687, becomes an Empire, 694, fourth war against France, 720, relation to the revolution in Germany, 735, war with Sardinia and France, 742, war against Prussia, 753, settlement after the war, 754, condition of modern Austria Hungary, 790, 791, death of Emperor Francis Joseph, 791, member of Triple Alliance, 798, annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina, 802, member of League of the Emperors, 796, rivalry with Russia in the Balkans, 804, in Great War, 806, Russian victories against, 820, Serbians defeat, 822,

Index

Italian victories against, 828,
defeats Italy at Caporetto, 828,
fall of, 828, disruption of
Empire of, 881
Austrian Succession, war of, 637-
639, 711, 712

B

BACON, minister of Elizabeth, 585,
philosopher and scientist, 546
Bagdad, and German schemes, 789,
801, fall of, 825, Railway, 824
Bailleul, 826
Bainsizza Plateau, 823
Balance of power, 473, 539, 810
Balfour, 794
Balkans, Russian advance in, 773,
England and the Balkan Con-
ference, 773, condition prior to
the Balkan Wars, 796, 797, 801,
802, the first Balkan War, 802,
803, condition after the second
war, 803, 804
Bannerman (Campbell - Banner-
man), administration of, 794
Barricades, Day of, 523
Bartholomew (Saint), massacre of,
540
Bastille, fall of, 665
Battles Alma, 740, Arques, 525,
Arras, 817, Austerlitz, 694, 720,
Bailen, 698, Beachy Head, 586,
Blenheim, 593, Borodino, 700,
Boyne, 587, 612, Breitenfeld,
556, Caporetto, 828, Castelfi-
dardo, 745, Charleroi, 814,
Copenhagen, 687, Coutras, 522,
Culloden, 711, Custoza, 734,
746, Dettingen, 711, Dunbar,
604, Dunes, 572, Falkland
Islands, 816, Fehrbellin, 693,
Flodden, 541, Fontenoy, 688,
711, Fornovo, 474, Friedland,
695, Gemblours, 510, Hohen-
linden, 687, Ivry, 525, Jena,
695, Jutland, 816, Koniggratz,
753, Kossovo, 803, Kunersdorf,
640, La Hogue, 586, Langen-
salza, 753, Leipzig, 701, Lens,
559, 568, Leuthen, 640, Le-
panto, 506, Lutzen, 557,
Magenta, 742, Marengo, 687,

Marignano, 476, Marne, 814,
second battle, 827, Marston
Moor, 603, Mohacz, 491, 636,
Muhlberg, 489, Narva, 626,
Naseby, 603, Navarino, 728,
Neerwinden, 677, Nile, 682,
Nördlingen, 558, Novara, 734,
Omdurman, 777, Pavia, 477,
Plassey, 718, Preston, 604,
Pultawa, 627, Rivoli, 680,
Rocroi, 559, 568, Rosbach, 640,
Salamanca, 699, Sedan, 759,
Solferino, 742, Solway Moor,
491, Somme, 817, St Quentin,
480, Tannenberg, 815, Tel el-
Kebir, 776, Trafalgar, 720,
Turnhout, 512, Ulm, 694, 720,
Valmy, 673, Verdun, "four
battles," 817, 818, Villagos, 735,
Wagram, 699, Worcester, 605,
Worth, 758, Ypres, three
battles of, 817
Bavaria, invaded by Gustavus,
536, after 'Thirty Years' War,
560, a claimant for Spanish
succession, 590, importance
during Spanish war, 592, after
Congress of Vienna, 725, alli-
ance with Prussia, 753
Beatty, Admiral, 816
Beersheba, 825
Belgium, revolution of, 729,
neutrality violated, 804, 805,
in Great War, 806, neutrality
violated, 812, resists Germany,
813, appeals to France and
Great Britain, 813, overrun
by Germany, 814, liberated by
Allies, 827
Bernadotte, 726
Bernard of Weimar, 558, 567
Bethmann-Hollweg, 813
"Big Berthas," 826
Big Four, 830
Bishops, trial of Seven, 610
Bismarck, 746, chief minister of
Prussia, 750, hostility to the
Poles, 751, makes war against
Austria, 752, policy after the
Austrian war, 753, desires war
with France, 757, the Ems tele-
gram, 758, influence and work
in Germany, 788, colonial and
naval policy, 788, dismissed, 788,
and Russo-Turkish war, 793

Index

Black Day of German armies, 827
 Blanc, Louis, 780, organized resistance to second republic, 781
 Boers (*see* Africa) in Transvaal, 777, relations with Germany, 800
 Bohemia, at the beginning of Thirty Years' War, 551, outbreak of war, 551, the rising crushed, 552, the land harried, 558, rebellion (1848), 783, Czechs of, 790
 Bolingbroke, action at death of Anne, 513, influence on George III, 707
 Bonaparté *See* Napoleon
 Bordeaux, 814
 Bosnia and Herzegovina, under Turkey, 797, rebels against Turkey, 797, controlled by Austria, 798, annexed by Austria, 802, Serbian desires in, 803
 Bosphorus, 822
 Botha, prime minister of South Africa, 794
 Boulanger, General, and the reform movement, 785, 786
 Bourbons, The, 516
 Brandenburg, in Schalkalden League, 489, becomes Calvinist, 549, will not help Gustavus Adolphus, 556, gains at Peace of Westphalia, 562, becomes Prussia, 620, *see* Prussia, early stages of, 630, not to be divided, 691
 Breslau, 806
 Bright, John, and Free trade, 766, oratory of, 766, work of, 767, secedes from Gladstone, 775
 British Expeditionary Force, 813
 Brumaire, revolution of, 683
 Brussels, 827
 Brussilof, 820
 Bucharest, 821
 Buckingham (First Duke of), unpopularity, 600, expedition to Rochelle, 600
 Budget of 1909, 795
 Bukovina, 820
 Bulgaria, relations with Turkey, 797, foundation of state, 798, union with Roumelia, 802, independence of, 802, enters Balkan League, 802, work in

Balkan War, 802, sues for peace, 803, modern boundaries, 803, enters Great War, 806, fall of, 828, 832
 Bulls, Papal, against Luther, 486, *quanta cura*, 746
 Bunyan, 615
 Burke, views on American Revolt, 716, opposition to French Revolution, 718
 Burleigh, minister of Elizabeth, 535, and Irish question, 545
 Bute (Marquis of), administration, 713
 Byron, 708

C

CABINET, origin, 704, relation to Crown and Parliament, 705, essential features of, 705, 706, development, 706, influence of Walpole on, 706, recognition of system, 761
 Cadorna, Italian General, 828
 Calais, lost by English, 480
 Calvin, 495, at Geneva, 496, his "Institutes," 497
 Calvinism, 493, characteristics of, 496, its services to Europe, 498, specially attacked by the Inquisition, 504, spreads in France, 515, in Germany, 549
 Canada, French in, 715, war in, 712, 713, in Great War, 807
 Canning, Tory, 720, character, 762
 Carol, King of Roumania, 806
 Castlereagh, Tory, 720, character, 762
 Catalonia, rebels against Spain, 558
 Catherine II of Russia, 629, 641
 Catherine de' Medici, 516, 520, 524
 Catholics, in England, 534, 536, 537, 608, 610, in Ireland, 545, 721, 763, 774, emancipation of, 722, 763
 Cavendish, Lord Frederick, murdered, 774
 Cavour, 741, quarrel with Napoleon III, 742, returns to office, 743, relations with Garibaldi, 744, death, 745

Index

- Central Powers, 806
- Chamberlain, secedes from Gladstone, 775, negotiates with Transvaal, 777, imperial policy, 794
- Chancellor, Prussian, 754
- Channel Ports, 817, 826
- Charles I of England, rule in England, 600-602, engaged in civil war, 603, execution, 604
- Charles II of England, in Scotland, 604, 605, restored to English throne, 606, domestic policy, 607-609, foreign policy, 607, 609
- Charles V, Emperor, 476, war against Francis I, 477, resignation, 479, character and aims, 483, difficulties of, 484, produces the Interim, 490, at variance with Ferdinand, 491, driven from Germany, 492, his success as King of Spain, 506
- Charles VI, Emperor, 636, 637
- Charles VIII of France invades Italy, 473, driven out, 474
- Charles IX of France, 517, 520
- Charles X of France, 729
- Charles II of Spain, 587
- Charles XII of Sweden, 625, defeats Russia and Poland, 626, defeat and death, 627
- Charles, Archduke of Austria, 591, 594
- Chataldja, 802
- Chartism, 766
- Chatham (see Pitt) and Parliamentary reform, 707, character and aims, 712, foreign policy, 712, and American revolt, 714
- Chatham, port of, attacked by Dutch, 607
- Chemin des Dames, 826
- China, Germans in, 789, 801, 824
- Christian II of Denmark, 555
- Church in England, under the Tudors, 534-536, under the Stuarts, 601-603, 607, 610, influence of Methodism on, 709, in France, modified by Concordat of Bologna, 476, altered by French Revolution, 667, Napoleon's concordat, 689, Napoleon's concordat denounced, 787, Catholic and Dreyfus Case, 786, work and organization of modern Church, 784
- Cinq Mars, Plot of, 565
- Cisalpine Republic, 681, annexed by Napoleon, 691
- Clarendon, fall of, 607
- Clémenceau, Prime Minister, 785, 829
- Codes of Napoleon, 690
- Colbert, finance minister, 576, protection of industry, 577, builds a navy, 578, urges war with Dutch, 579
- Coleridge, 708
- Cohigny, 518, 520
- Cologne, 585
- Commission, Court of High, founded, 536
- Committee of Public Safety, 674, 679
- Commons of England, position in nineteenth century, 761, and Irish Home Rule, 774, opposed to peers, 795
- Commune of Paris, 672, 759
- Communists, French, 821
- Compulsory Service, 807
- Concordat of Bologna, 476, of Napoleon, 689, 787
- Condé, 558, 568, in the second Fronde, 571, defeated by Turenne, 572
- Confederation of the Rhine, 695
- Congress of London, 802, of Vienna, 725
- Conservatives, origin of party, 767, influence of Chamberlain on, 794
- Constantine, King of Greece, 807
- Constantinople, Russians before, 773, 797
- Constituent assembly, 667
- Constitution (French) of 1791, 668, of 1795, 678, attempt to revise, 786, (English), altered by Instrument of Government, 605, and Revolution of 1688, 611, advance of constitutional government, 780, effect of Veto Bill on, 795
- Convention, 672, 674, overthrows Robespierre, 677, end of, 679
- Corn Laws, agitation, 766, repealed, 767
- Cornwallis, surrender of, 717

Index

Corsica, won by France, 650
 Counter Reformation, the, 500
 Country, party, origin, 608
 Courland, 820
 Covenant of League of Nations, 830, 832
 Cracow, 819
 Cranmer, 584, 546
 Crete, ceded to Greece, 802, recognized as Greek, 803
 Crimean war, 740, 768
 Cromwell, Oliver, and the civil war, 603, leader of Commonwealth, 604, character and ability, 604, settlement of Scotland and Ireland, 604, policy, 605, death, 605
 Cromwell, Richard, 606
 Crown Prince of Germany at Verdun, 817
 Cyprus ceded to Britain, 798
 Czecho Slovakia, 831

D

DALHOUSIE, Lord, in India, 768
 Damascus, 828
 Danton, 671, arranges attack on the Palace, 672, 674
 Dardanelles, Britain supports Turks in, 773, 822
 "Defenestration of Prague," 551
 Denmark, intervenes in Thirty Years' War, 553, occupied by Prussia and Austria, 552
 Derby, Lord, Prime Minister, 770
 Devolution, War of, 578, 607
 Devonshire, Duke of, secedes from Gladstone, 775
 de Witt, John, 513
 Diaz, General, 828
 Diet of Worms, 486, of Nuremberg, 486, at Speier, 488, at Augsburg, 490, 492, Ratisbon, 554, 581
 Diplomatic revolution, the, 639
 Directory, the, 678, 682, fall of, 639
 Disarmament, German attitude towards, 800
 Disestablishment, of Irish Church, 771, in Franco, 771, 787

Disraeli, opposed Gladstone, 769, early life and career, 769, in office, 773, foreign policy, 773, created Lord Beaconsfield, 773, and Irish affairs, 773, and Treaty of Berlin, 798
 Divine Right of Kings, 593, Hobbes' view, 615, Wm II of Prussia's view, 788
 Dort, Synod of, 513
 Drake, 540
 Dreyfus, case of Captain, 786, pardon of, 787
 Duma demanded, 792, summoned, 793
 Du Barri, Madame, 652
 Dumouriez, 673, treason of, 677
 Duplex, 648

E

EASTERN Front, contrasted with Western, 815
 Ecclesiastical states of Germany, at the Peace of Augsburg, 493, Edict of Restitution, 554, settlement at Westphalia, 559
 Edinburgh, besieged, 542, Treaty of, 542, entered by Young Pretender, 711
 Education, services of the Jesuits, 501, Act, 771, in England, 778, and Nihilism, 792
 Edward VI of England, accession, 531, church policy, 534, rebellions in reign, 534, foreign policy, 539, marriage proposal, 542
 Egmont, 503
 Egypt, under Anglo-French control, 773, Suez shares bought, 773, rising of Arabi Pasha, 776, England controls government of, 776, Soudan rebellion, 777, under British rule, 802
 Elizabeth, Queen of England, 509, 512, accession, 531, 535, policy in Ireland, 544, religious policy, 536-538, foreign policy, 539, in Scotland, 542, literature of time, 546
 Empire, Holy Roman, result of Thirty Years' War, 559, end of, 694
 Engheim, Duke of, executed 692

Index

England, condition at opening of sixteenth century, 530, in the sixteenth century, 531-545, in the seventeenth century, 597-615, a Commonwealth, 604-606, "The Restoration," 606 *seq*, the Revolution of 1688, 611, in eighteenth century, 704-724, industrial revolution in, 708, in war of Austrian Succession, 711-713, in Seven Years' War, 713, in nineteenth century, 760-778, war against China, 768, Indian Mutiny, 768, in Egypt, 773, 776, the Boer War, 777, in the latest Age, 777 *seq*, cedes Heligoland to Germany, 789, after death of Victoria, 793, 794, and the Great War, 796, 804, and Treaty of Berlin, 798, gains Cyprus, 798
Entente, of Walpole with French, 713, Cordiale, 799
Erasmus, 515
Eugène, Prince, 592
Evangelical Union, 550
Exclusion Bill, 608

F

FAIRFAX, 604
Fénélon, 595
Ferdinand, Emperor, 479, at variance with Charles V, 491
Ferdinand of Styria, King of Bohemia, 551, Emperor, 557
Ferdinand of Bulgaria, 806
Ferry, Prime Minister, 785
Feudalism, not the cause of the French Revolution, 654, abolished in France, 670
Finland, 727
Fisher, executed, 533
Fleury, Cardinal, 645, 710
Foch, General, 827
Fouquet, 576
Fox, premier, 720
Fox, George, founder of Society of Friends, 615
France, gains at the Treaty of Oateau Cambrésis, 480, outbreak of civil religious wars, 517, development under Henry

IV, 528, gains at Peace of Westphalia, 560, prestige under Louis XIV, 576, after the Peace of Utrecht, 595, loss of prestige in 18th century, 647, loses India and Canada, 648, 713, causes of failure as a colonial power, 649, under ancient regime, 658, revolution, 661, first republic, 674, after Congress of Vienna, 725, occupied Algiers, 730, second republic, 731, annexation of Nice and Savoy, 743, Franco Prussian war, 757, 772, third republic, 760, outbreak of Commune, 759, accepts Peace of Pyrenees, 605, War of Devolution, 607, opens "Courts of Re-union," 609, accepts treaty of Ryswick, 611, Anglo-French control in Egypt, 773, 776, socialism in, 782, constitution of modern, 785, Boulangist movement, 785, Dreyfus case, 786, rivalry with Italy in Africa, 799, Franco Russian alliance, 799, Entente Cordiale with England, 769, and the Moroccan question, 801, in Great War, *see* Great War
Francis I, 476, a candidate for Empire, 476, war against Charles V, 477
Francis I., Emperor, 671
Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, 734, death, 791
Francis of Lorraine, 637
Franco-Prussian war, 757
Frederick II of Prussia, "the Great," 636, invades Silesia, 637, alliance with Britain, 639, defeat and despair, 640, saved by Russia, 640, 713, energetic and peaceful administration, 641, partition of Poland, 642, connection with Voltaire, 659
Frederick, elector Palatine, 549, becomes King of Bohemia, 551, expelled, 552
Frederick William, "the Great Elector," 560, welcomes Huguenots, 584, 632, represses liberty, 632, defeats the Swedes, 633

Index

Frederick William I of Prussia, 634, development of his army, 635
 Frederick William IV of Prussia, 736, humiliated at Olmutz, 738
 Free Trade agitation, 766
 French Revolution, *see* Ch xiv, influence of war on, 669, relation to the Polish question, 670
 French, Sir John, 816
 Friends, Society of, founded, 615
 Fronde, wars of, 569, second Fronde, 570

G

GABELLE, 656
 Galicia, 819
 Gallician Liberties, 581, 689
 Gallipoli campaign, 822
 Gambetta, 759
 Garibaldi, 744, quarrel with Victor Emmanuel, 745
 George I of England, accession, 618, weakness, 705, foreign policy, 710
 George II of England, relations with Cabinet, 705
 George III of England, political ideas of, 707, responsible for American revolt, 707, accession, 718, discredited by American revolt, 718, insanity, 722, opposes Catholic emancipation, 723, death, 762
 George IV of England, accession, 762, death, 765
 George V of England, and the Veto Bill, 795
 George, Lloyd, Chancellor of Exchequer, 794
 Germanic Confederation, 725, its weakness, 735
 Germany, condition at the Reformation, 484, on the eve of the Thirty Years' War, 548, grievances against French Revolution, 670, remodelled by Napoleon, 688, rises against Napoleon, 701, after Congress of Vienna, 725, revolution in (1848), 735, foundation of German Empire, 759, labour movements in, 782, and the

Dreyfus case, 786, work of Bismarck, 787, modern Germany, 787-789, enters alliance of Three Emperors, 796, joins Triple Alliance, 798, relations with Boers, 800, fleet of, 800, colonial ambitions, 801, and Turkey before Great War, 806, and the Great War, 804, *see* Great War
 Girondists, 674, 675
 Goeben, 806
 Gordon, General, in Egypt, 777, death, 777
 Gorizia, 825
 Gortschakoff, Russian minister, 798
 Grand Alliance, the, 586
 Great Britain, in Great War, *see* Great War
 Greece, rebels and wins independence, 728, independence of, 797, Crete ceded to, 802, enters Balkan league, 802, in Great War, 807, and Asia Minor, 832
 Grey, leader of Whigs, 765
 Grey, Sir Edward, 813
 Guise, Henry of, 520, aims at the French throne, 522, on the Day of Barricades, 523, murdered by Henry III, 523
 Guises, the, 517
 Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, 555, motives for intervention in Germany, 555, victory at Breitenfeld, 556, invades Bavaria, 556, killed at Lützen, 557, relations with Richelieu, 567

H

HAG, Sir Douglas, 816, 817
 Hague conference, 800
 Hapsburg, House of, connection with Hungary and Bohemia, 491, aims in the Thirty Years' War, 550, after the war, 559, opposed by Richelieu, 567, struggles with the Turks, 636, final acquisition of Hungary, 637, analysis of possessions of, 643
 Hawkins, 540

Index

Hébert, 675
 Heligoland, ceded to Germany, 789
 Helvetic Confederation after Peace of Westphalia, 559, *see* Switzerland
 Henry II, King of France, 479, assists the Protestants of France, 491, 514
 Henry III, King of France, 519, 521, assassinates Henry of Guise, 523, allies with Henry of Navarre, 524, murdered, 524
 Henry IV of France, *see* Navarre, Henry of
 Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, *see* Henry VII
 Henry VII of England, reign, 531, policy of, 538, Ireland under, 544
 Henry VIII of England, accession, 531, foreign policy, 532, 541, Church policy, 533, King of Ireland, 544
 Herodotus, 805
 Hindenburg, 815, 820
 Hindenburg line, 819, 827
 Hobbes, and his philosophy, 615
 Hohenzollern, House of, receives the Electorate of Brandenburg, 630, Albert of, chosen Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, 631, acquires Jülich, Cleves and Berg, 632, 806
 Holland, and William "the Silent," 509, *see* United Provinces, Kingdom of Holland in 1815, 726, Belgium breaks away, 729
 Holy Alliance 727
 Holy League, 475
 Home Rule, Irish bill, 774, 796, in Hungary, 790, in Africa, 794
 Huguenots of France, 518, Edict of Nantes, 527, under Louis XIV, 532, 610
 Humanism in France, 515
 Hume, 708
 Hungary, acquisition by Austria, 491, 637, rebellion (1848), 733, crushed by Russia, 735, acquires Home Rule, 754, political position of modern, 790, independent, 831

I

INDIA, acquisition of, 713, government of India, 718, 724, 768, the Mutiny, 768, Dalhousie in, 768
 Industrial Revolution, 709, effect on England, 761
 Inquisition in Spain, papal, 503
 Insurance Act, 794
 Intellectual movement in France, 657, general tendencies, 658
 Interim, the, 490
 Internationalism, modern, 788, and Hague Conference, 800
 Ireland, the Tudors in, 544, and Cromwell, 604, opposition to Revolutionary settlement (1689), 612, Grattan's Parliament, 721, 722, in eighteenth century, 721, Act of Union, 762, problems of nineteenth century, 767, 771, 774, Parnell agitation, 774, Home Rule agitation, 763, 774, 795, Ulster in the Great War, 796
 Italian front, in Great War, 815
 Italy, kingdom of (Napoleon), 691, after Congress of Vienna, 726, condition after 1848, 741, first Italian Parliament, 743, completion of Italian unity, 747, enters Triple Alliance, 798, occupies Tripoli, 802, and the Great War, 804, 806, "romantic" campaign, 823, 824, victories, 825, catastrophe at Caporetto, 823
 Ivan the Terrible, 623

J

JACOBINS, 671, control the government, 674, divisions among, 675
 Jacobites, 613, rebellion of, 711
 James I of England, accession to throne of Scotland, 544, accession to English throne, 598, character and policy, 598, 600
 James II of England, as Duke of York, 608, accession, 610, character and aims, 610, policy, 610, flight to France, 611, defeated at Battle of the Boyne,

Index

612, excluded from English throne, 612
 Jameson raid, 777
 Jansenism, 582, 606, 650
 Japan, war with Russia, 792, 799, in Great War, 806
 Jellicoe, Admiral, 816
 Jesuit order, the, 500, formed, 501, expelled from France, 528, 550, in England, 537, attacked in the 18th century 651, suppressed in France and abolished, 652
 Joffre, General, 814
 John of Austria, Don, 510
 Joseph II of Austria, 642, failure of his plans, 643
 Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain, 698
 Joseph, Father, 555
 Jugo-Slavia, 831
 Juliers, 529

K

KAISER German, 807, abdicates, 828
 Khartoum, captured by Mahdi, 777, re-taken by English, 777
 Kiao-Chou, gained by Germany, 789
 Kiel canal, 816
 Kitchener, in Egypt, 777, in South Africa, 778, death, 821
 Kluck, von, 814
 Knox, John, 542
 Kosciuszko, 670
 Kossuth, 733, 735
 Kut, 824, 825

L

LABOUR, condition of, after Napoleon's Fall, 762, movements in W Europe, 782, international aspect of, 783, in France, 787, in Germany, 789, and War, 787
 Lafayette, 666
 Latimer, theologian, 546
 Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, 601, church policy, 602

La Vendée, 674
 Law, John, his financial schemes 645
 League of Cambrai, 475, of Schmalkalden, 483, Catholic, in France, 522, in Germany, 550, land, 774, of Three Emperors, 796, Balkan, 802
 League of Nations, 811, 829, 830, 831, signatories to, 832, articles of, 832, Council of, 832, 833, Assembly and Council of, 833, compared with England's Great Charter, 833
 Lemberg, 820
 Lenn, 821
 Leopold II, Emperor, 671
 L'Hôpital, 517
Liberum veto, 621
 Lithuania, 820
 Lloyd George, 813, 829
 Local government, in England, 709, 765; Municipal Corporation Act, 765
 Locke, philosopher, 615
 London, blockaded, 607, fire of, 607, plague of, 607, Congress of, 802
 Lords, house of, 761, reject Home Rule Bill, 776, reject budget, 795, and Veto Bill, 795
 Lorraine, won for France, 646, ceded to Germany, 759, 799, freed, 830
 Louis XII. of France, 474, success and failure in Italy, 475
 Louis XIII, 529, 562
 Louis XIV, 563, marriage, 572, "Age of," see Ch ix, character and policy, 574, patronage of art, 577, claims the Spanish Netherlands, 578, attacks the Dutch, 579, the reunions, 580, seizes Strassburg, 581, religious policy, 583; influence of Madame de Maintenon, 583, revokes Edict of Nantes, 583, relation to English Revolution, 585, fights against the Grand Alliance, 586, makes partition treaties, 590, accepts Spanish inheritance, 591, saved by the Tories, 594, tragedies of last years, 596
 Louis XV, 644 weakness of his

Index

rule, 647, suppresses Parle-
ment, 652
Louis XVI, 661, calls States-
General, 663, surrenders to
Commons, 665, brought to
Paris, 666, dislike of the re-
ligious policy of the Revolution,
667, flight from Paris, 668,
deposed, 672, execution, 674
Louis XVIII, 702, 729
Louis Philippe, 729, overthrown,
731
Louvois, 576
Loyola, Ignatius, 500
Ludendorff, 820, 826, 827
Lustania, 806
Luther, 481, attacks indulgences,
482, influences favourable to,
484, at the Diet of Worms,
486, opposes the claims of the
peasants, 487, death of, 489

M

MACHIAVELLI, 480, 546
Mackensen, 820, 821
Magyars, dominance of, 790
Mantenon, Madame de, 583
Malta, seized by Napoleon, 681,
to be ceded by England, 688,
leads to war, 692
Marat, 671, 673
Margaret of England, marries
James IV of Scotland, 539,
541
Maria Theresa, 637, appeal to
Hungary, 638, alliance with
France, 639, shares in partition
of Poland, 642
Marie Antoinette, 661
Marlborough, 592, under Anne,
612, quarrel of Duchess of,
with Anne, 613
Marne, 814, 826, 827
Marx, Karl, 821
Mary, Queen of England, acces-
sion, 534, ecclesiastical policy,
535, marriage, 535, foreign
policy, 535, 539, death, 535
Mary, Queen of Scots, connection
with English Royal house, 539,
marriage, 542, trouble in Scot

land, 543, personal beliefs, 543,
abdication, 544
Massacre of St Bartholomew's
Day, 519, consequences of, 520
Matthias, Emperor, 550
Maude, General, 825
Maurice, Prince of Orange, 512,
513
Maurice of Saxony, 489, 490, 492
Maximilian of Austria, Archduke,
in Mexico, 756
Maximilian of Bavaria, 549, 550,
becomes elector, 553, jealous of
Wallenstein, 554
Mazarin, 559, 568, triumph at
Westphalia, 568, resistance of
nobles and Parlement, 569,
arrests Condé, 571, alliance
with Cromwell, 572, negotiates
Peace of Pyrenees, 572, com-
pared with English rulers, 600
Mazzini, 734
Medici in Florence, Catherine,
see Catherine de' Medici
Medieval chronicles, 805
Mesopotamia, 825
Methodism, 709, influence on
Church of England, 709, anti-
revolutionary, 709
Metternich, 699, 726, resigns, 733
Mexico, 756
Michael Angelo, 475
Milan, attacked by Louis XII of
France, 474, claimed by France
and the Empire, 478, occupied
by Napoleon, 680, rebels
against Austrians, 734
Mirabeau, 664
Molière, 575
Moltke, 749, 752, 757
Monasteries, destruction of, 533,
dissolved in France, 787
Monk, General, 606
Monmouth, Duke of, claims
throne, 609
Mons retreat, 814
Montcalm, 648
Montenegro, and Turkey, 797,
independent, 798, enters Bal-
kan League, 802, in Great
War, 806
Montesquieu, 659
More, Thomas, execution, 533,
writer, 546

Index

N

NAMUR, 814

Nantes, Edict of, 527, difficulties of, 563, revoked, 583, result of Revocation, 584, English opinion on Revocation, 610

Naples, conquered by France, 473, by Spain, 474, by Garibaldi, 744

Napoleon, suppresses rising of Vendémiaire, 679, attacks Austria in Italy, 680, invades Egypt, 681, carries out coup d'état of Brumaire, 683, character and aims, 684, becomes First Consul, 685, invades Italy again, 687, wins peace from Austria and Great Britain, 687, policy in Germany, 688, adopts Concordat, 689, domestic policy, 689, becomes Consul for life, 692, becomes Emperor, 693, fails to invade England, 693, breaks up the third coalition, 694, crushes Prussia, 695, aims at Great Britain through her commerce, 696, 720, causes of his victories, 697, overwhelms Spain, 698, marries Marie Louise, 699, war with Russia, 700, abdicates, 701, returns from Elba, 702, Waterloo, 703, St Helena, 703, funeral in Paris, 730

Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon), 731, becomes President 732, becomes Emperor, 732, character and position, 739, the Crimean war, 740, relations with Cavour, 742, and the Papal States, 745, relation to the Austro-Prussian War, 754, nature of his power, 755, offends commercial classes, 756, Mexican adventure, 756, forms the Liberal Empire, 757, protests against a Hohenzollern for Spain, 758, deposition, 759

National Assembly, 664

Navarre, Henry of, 519, 520, leads the Politiques, 521, wins battle of Ivry, 525, besieges Paris, 525, conversion, 526, 540, gains English help, 540, gains

Paris, 526, reorganization of France, 527, issues Edict of Nantes, 527, strengthens monarchy, 528, marries Marie de' Medici, 529, interferes in Juliers, 529, murdered, 530

Nationality, supports the Reformation in Germany, 485, meaning of, 728, effect on Europe, 729, problems in modern development, 780, 782

Necker, 662, 665

Netherlands, condition in 16th century, 507, policy of Philip II, 508, rebellion of, 509, nature of the struggle, 509, Spanish Fury in, 510, abjure Philip II, 511, commercial treaty with England, 538, *see* United Provinces

Newcastle (Duke of) administration, 712

Newton, and his Principia, 614

Nicholas, Grand Duke, 820

Nicolas II of Russia, development of commerce and industry under, 792, work of, 792, 821, abdicates, 821

Nilism, growth in Russia, 792, origin and development, 792, aims, 792, and education, 792, and serfdom, 791, demands a Duma, 792

Nivelle, General, 819

North (Lord), Prime Minister, 715, attitude to American rebels, 715

North German confederation, 758

Northumberland, Duke of, regent, 534

Norway, a separate kingdom, 727

Notables, 528

O

O'CONNELL, leader of Irish Catholics, 763

Oldenbarnevelt, 513

Olmütz, humiliation of, 738

Orange, House of, excluded from power in Holland, 514, restoration, 579

Orlando, 830

Index

Orleans, Duke of, Regent, 644
Orleans, Gaston of, 564
Ostend, 828
Outlanders of the Transvaal, 777
Oxford, a Tory intriguer, 618

P

PAOIFICATION of Ghent, 510
Palatinate, after Thirty Years' War, 560
Palestine campaign in Great War, 825
Palmerston, Prime Minister, 767, character, 768, foreign policy, 768, home policy, 768, death, 769, influence on reform, 769, influence on Gladstone, 769
Paris, welcomes Henry IV, 526, at the beginning of the Revolution, 665, threatened by Germans in Great War, 824, 826
Parker (Archbishop), minister of Elizabeth, 535, theologian, 546
Parlement of Paris, changed by the Paulette, 528, in the Fronde, 569, its demands, 570, failure of first Fronde, 570, supports the Jansenists, 650, attacks the Jesuits, 651, suppressed by Louis XV, 652, restored and resists Louis XVI, 663, attempt to supersede, 786
Parliament, and Ireland, 544, in the 17th century, 599, claims of, 600, Revolution (1688) secures authority of, 611, authority of, 612, 704, 705, 715, Grattan's, 721, Union of English and Irish, 722, and the Reform Bill, 765, effect of Veto Bill on, 795
Parma, takes Antwerp, 512, relieves Paris, 525, death, 526
Parnell, Charles Stewart, life and character, 774, work in Ireland, 774, arrest, 774, forms Home Rule party, 774, charge against, 775, divorced, 775, disgraced, 775, 776
Party system, unscrupulousness of, 609, definite organization, 706, settlement of grievances, 761, tendency of, 769
Paschendale, 817

Paulette, 528
Peace, in Europe, 779, 780, 783, 800, armed peace of Europe, 800, organization of, 800, Hague Tribunal, 801
Peaces *See* Treaties
Peasant war in Germany, 487, influence in the Reformation, 488
Peasantry in France, condition of, 655
Peel, Sir Robert, 762, and Corn laws, 767, originates Conservative party, 767, death, 767, influence on Gladstone, 769, finance of, 769
Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, 615
Pension, Old Age, Act passed, 794
Petain, General, 817
Peter the Great, 623, destruction of *strelets*, 624, creation of a Russian navy, 625, war with Sweden, 625, aims realized, 793
Petition of Right, clauses, 601
Philip II of Spain, 479, failure and success of his reign, 506, annexes Portugal, 506, character of, 507, popularity of, 532, marriage, 535, abjured by the Netherlands, 511, Armada defeated, 512, attitude towards English adventure, 540, designs on the French throne, 522, relieves Paris, 525
Philip V of Spain, 591
Picquart, Colonel, revives Dreyfus case, 786
Pitt, the Elder (*see* Chatham), 640, and parliamentary reform, 707, in power, 712
Pitt, the Younger, called to office, 707, and parliamentary reform, 707, character and ability, 718, work in India, 718, makes treaty with France, 718, and slave trade, 718, attitude to French Revolution, 718, temporary retirement, 720, recalled, 720, attitude towards Ireland, 722, and Catholic Emancipation, 722, death, 720
Plebiscite, attempt in France to use, 786

Index

Poincaré, French President, 814
 Points, Fourteen, 830
 Poland, accepts Henry of Anjou as King, 520, connection with Sweden, 555, 618, contrast with Russia, 620, religious character of, 621, constitution of, 621, cedes independence to Prussia, 623, first partition, 642, 649, second partition, 669, last partition, 670, Bismarck's hostility, 820, independent, 830, 831
 Poles, under Austria, 790, under Russia, 793
 Politiques, the, 521
 Pompadour, Madame de, 647
 Pope, writer, 708
 Popes Alexander VI, 475, Clement VII, 478, Clement XIV, 652, Julius II, 475, Leo X, 476, Pius VII, 689, Pius IX, 744
 Popish Plot, 608
 Portugal, revolt from Spain, 567
 Poyning's Law, 544
 Pragmatic Sanction (Austrian), 637
 Pretender, invades England, 711, defeated at Culloden, 711
 Priestley, 708
 Prime Minister, office, 705, function, 706, authority, 706
 Privileged classes in France, 655
 Protestantism, origins of the word, 488, see Puritans
 Prussia, united to Brandenburg, 631
 Prussia, kingdom of, 592, gains from Sweden, 627, characteristics of, 630, why made a kingdom, 633, war against France, 673, accepts peace, 680, war against France again, 695, crushed at Jena, 695, after Peace of Tilsit, 696, reorganization by Stein and Scharnhorst, 698, after Congress of Vienna, 725, offered the Empire of Germany, 736, revolutionary movement in, 736, crushed, 737, humiliation before Austria, 738, Zollverein, 743, military reorganization, 749, war against Austria, 752, ex-

tension after the war, 753, treaty with Bavaria, etc, 753, becomes part of German Empire, 759, see Germany
 Przemysl, 819, 820
 Puritans, opposition to Elizabeth, 537, opposition to Laud, 602, rebellion of, 602, writings of, 615
 Pym, 603, 769

Q

QUEBEC, captured by Wolfe, 713

R

REASON, worship of, 675
 Reform, parliamentary, in 19th century, 762, agitation for, 763, 792, effect of Revolution (1830) on, 764, demands of Chartists, 766, Reform bills, 769
 Reformation, 478, in England, 533-8, in Scotland, 542, in Ireland, 544
 Reichstag, powers of, 754
 Reign of Terror, 674, end of, 677
 Reims during Great War, 817, 826
 Religious toleration in modern world, 784
 Restitution, Edict of, 554, withdrawn, 559
 Restoration, the, causes of, 606, literature, 614, architecture of, 614
 Revolution of 1688, 598, 611, Industrial, 708, French, 661, 709, 718, of 1830, 764, of 1848, 765, movements in Petrograd, 792, in Turkey, 802, Russian, 812, 821
 Revolutionary tribunal, 675
 Revolutionary war, 669, success at Valmy, 673, joined by Great Britain, 674, fluctuations in, 677, becomes war for natural frontiers, 678
 Richelieu, 519, 555, intervenes in Thirty Years' War, 558, joins

Index

King's Council, 562, domestic policy, 563, defeats Huguenots, 564, attacks the nobles, 564, plot of Cinq Mars, 565, establishes Intendants, 565, opposes representative government, 566, influence on foreign affairs, 567, occupies the Valtelline Pass, 567, relations with Gustavus Adolphus, 567
 Rights of man declared, 667
 Robespierre, 671, 674, policy and aims, 676, execution of, 677
 Roberts (Lord) in South Africa, 778
 Rockingham, Marquis of, Prime Minister, 716
 Rome, sacked, 478, won for Italian unity, 746
 Roumania, relations with Turkey, 797, helps Russia, 797, independence recognized, 798, in Great War, 806, 807, 820, failure of, 820, annexes Transylvania, 831
 Roumelia, state founded, 798, union with Bulgaria, 802
 Rousseau, 659
 Rudolf II, Emperor, 550
 Russell, Lord John, Prime Minister, 769
 Russia, contrast with Poland, 620, gains from Sweden, 627, joins second coalition against France, 682, alliance with Napoleon, 695, war with Napoleon, 700, hostility to Turkey, 739, Crimean war, 740, war with Turkey, 772, 797, and Nihilism, 792, Russo-Japanese war, 792, 799, joins League of Three Emperors, 796, alliance with France, 799, and the Hague Conference, 800, rivalry with Austria in the Balkans, 804, protects Serbia, 804, in Great War, 806, defeated at Tannenberg, 815, victories of, 819, Brussilov's great offensive, 820, revolution in, 821
 Russo Turkish war, 797

S

SAINT AUGUSTINE, the "City of God," 481
 Saint-Simon, 575
 Salisbury, Earl of, administration, 775, and partition of Africa, 789
 Salonica, Greece and Bulgaria both claim, 803, acceded to Greece, 803, as base for Allies in Great War, 823
 Sardinia, 646, 734, participates in Crimean war, 740, character of government, 741, joins with Central Italy and forms united Italy, 743
 Saxony, during the Reformation, 488, before the Thirty Years' War, 549
 Scheldt, opening of, 719
 Schleswig-Holstein question, 751
 Schwarzenberg, 738
 Science in Great War, 809, 810, 816
 Scotland, relations with England in the 16th century, 538, 541-544, abdication of Mary, 544, union of Crowns of England and, 544, relations with England in the 17th century, 602-614, union of English and Scotch parliaments, 612, the Young Pretender in, 711
 Scott, 708
 September massacres, 673
 Serajevo, 804
 Serbia, enters Balkan League, 802, enlarged, 803, Austrian charges against, 804, intervention of Italy in, 804, and the Great War, 1914, 806, victories against Austria, 822, crushed, 822, pierces Bulgarian line, 828
 Serfdom in Germany at the Reformation, 487, abolished in France, 655, in Russia, 791, abolished in Russia, 791
 Servetus, 497
 Settlement, Act of, 612
 Seven Years' War, 639, 718
 Shaftesbury, leader of Whigs, 608, and Popish Plot, 608, flees to Holland, 609, death, 609

Index

- Shakespeare, 546¹
 Shelley, 708
 Ship money levied, 601
 Siberia, Czar Nicolas II to, 821
 Sicily occupied by Garibaldi, 744
 Sieges Acre, 682 Antwerp, 512,
 Bagdad, 825, Edinburgh, 542,
 Jerusalem, 825, Kut, 824,
 La Rochelle, 563, Lemberg,
 819, Leith, 542, Liège, 813,
 814, Magdeburg, 556, Mantua,
 680, Metz, 479, 492, Monastir,
 823, Namur, 814, Pampeluna,
 500, Paris, 524, 525, 759,
 Przemyśl, 819, Rome, 478,
 Saragossa, 699, Sebastopol, 740,
 Vienna, 636
 Siéyès, 688, 685
 Silesia, invaded by Frederick II,
 687
 Sobieski, John, 584, 622
 Socialism, 780, 766, definition of,
 782, modern, 782, in Athens,
 782, in the Roman Republic,
 782, in Germany, 783, 789,
 790, and the Great War, 783,
 and internationalism, 783, and
 militarism, 790, triumphs in
 Russia with the aim of dictator-
 ship of the proletariat, 821
 Somerset, Duke of, regent, 534,
 in Scotland, 542
 Sophia of Hanover, 612
 Spain, her isolation and its
 cessation, 505, high culture of,
 507, Armada defeated, 540,
 intrigues with Ireland, 545,
 alliance with Austria in Thirty
 Years' War, 550, accepts peace
 of Pyrenees, 572, 605, condition
 in 17th century, 588, exhausted
 by Empire, 589, question of
 succession, 589, 613, no help to
 France, 592, after the Peace of
 Utrecht, 595, protests against
 Courts of Reunion, 609, rises
 against Napoleon, 698, revolution
 of, 727, loss of colonies,
 727, excuse for Franco-Prussian
 war, 757
 Spanish Succession, question of,
 587, 589, the scope of the war, 593
 St Quentin, 826
 Stanislas I, King of Poland, 626,
 646
 Stanislas II, King of Poland, 669
 Stanley, Lord, 813
 State, the, Hobbes' view, 615;
 Locke's view, 615, Carlyle's
 view, 781, Spencer's view, 781,
 Aristotle's view, 781, German
 views, 781, function and
 activities of the Modern State,
 781, rivals to, 543, 783
 States-General, at Blois, 523, of
 1614, 562, last meeting, 663,
 become the National Assembly,
 664, compared with English
 Parliament, 574
 Stein (Prussia), 698
 Strassburg, seized by Louis XIV,
 581, 609
 Strafford, compared with Riche-
 lieu, 597, execution, 603, *see*
 Wentworth
 Stratford de Redcliffe, Lord, 740
Strelitz, 624
 Sturdee, Admiral, 816
 Submarine, 809, unrestricted
 submarine warfare in Great
 War, 825, 829
 Sully, 529
 Suvorof, 682
 Sweden, gains in Peace of
 Westphalia, 560, 617, 619, con-
 trols the Baltic, 620, collapse
 after Charles XII, 627, joins
 Triple Alliance, 607, annexes
 Norway 726, separated from
 Norway, 726
 Swift, 708
 Switzerland, 560, overrun by
 Napoleon, 691
 Syndicalism, definition, 787, in
 France, 787
- T
- Taille*, 656
 Tanks, 809, 810, 827
 Tetzels, 482
 Thiers, 729, 760, 785
 Third republic in France, 759
 Thirty Years' War, *see* Ch VII,
 characteristics of, 552, results
 of, 561, compared with Puritan
 Rebellion, 602
 Tilly, 552, at Magdeburg, 556,
 defeated by Gustavus, 556

Index

Toleration, in the 19th century, 784
 Tories, 613, 705, difference between Whigs and, 707, split by Act of Union, 763, death of party, 767
 Torstenson, 558
 Townshend, General, 824, victories and defeats, 824
 Trade Unions, 783
 Transylvania, 821
 Treaties (including Peaces): Aix la Chapelle, 607, 638, Alais, 564, Amiens, 687, 720, Augsburg, 492, Balkan League, 802, Basel, 680, Berlin, 798, Brest-Litovsk, 812, 822, Cambrai, 475, Campo-Formio, 681, Cateau Cambrésis, 480, Crespy, 479, Dover, 579, 607, Edinburgh, 542, 543, Frankfurt, 759, Granada, 474, Lunéville, 687, Madrid, 477, Nimeguen, 580, Pacification of Ghent, 510, Paris, 641, 741, Pressburg, 694, Pyrenees, 572, 605, Rastadt, 595, Ryswick, 587, 611, Sari Stefano, 798, Solemn League and Covenant, 603, St Germain, 518, Tilsit, 695, Union of Utrecht, 511, Utrecht, 595, 711, Versailles, 880, Vervins, 527, Vienna, 646, 723, 725, Westphalia, 559
 Trench warfare, 814
 Trent, Council of, 490, 508
 Trentino, 823
 Tribunates in France, 686
 Triple Alliance, 578, 607, Italy leaves, 806
 Tripoli, 802
 Trotsky, 821
 Turenne, 558, 568, 571, crushes the second Fronde, 571
 Turgot, 661
 Turks, Ottoman, conquer Hungary, 491, defeated at Lepanto, 506, defeated before Vienna, 584, constant loss of territory, 789, Crimean War, 740, continued disintegration, 773, 796, 797, relations with Germany, 789, Bosnia and Herzegovina rebel against, 797, war with Russia, 797, revolution of

"Young Turks," 802; and Balkan War, 802, in Great War, Germany's attention to, 806, alliance with Germany, 806, Gallipoli campaign, 822, hopes of, 824, attack on Egypt, 824, defeat in Mesopotamia and Palestine, 824, 825, fall of, 828, uncertain future, 832

U

ULSTER, 721, attitude towards Home Rule, 775, 796, in Great War, 1914, 796
 Uniformity, Act of, 536
 Union, Act of, 722, Catholics under, 763, hostility to, 762
 United Provinces, formed by Union of Utrecht, 511, see Netherlands, services to Europe, 512, political and religious troubles, 513, independent of the Empire, 560, attacked by Louis XIV, 579, war with England, 607, signs Triple Alliance, 607, war with France, 607, 611, signs Peace of Ryswick, 611
 Universities, Wittenberg, 481, and internationalism, 783
 Utrecht, Union of, 511

V

VALTELLINE PASS, 567
 Vasa, Gustavus, 618, Sigismund, 618
 Vassy, massacre at, 517
 Vatican Council, 747
 Vauban, 576, 586, 595
 Venice, attacked by League of Cambrai, 475, annexed by Austria, 681, won for united Italy, 746, threatened by Austrians in Great War, 823, 824
 Venizelos, 807
 Verdun, 817
 Veto Bill, 795
 Victor Emmanuel, 741
 Victoria of England, reign, 765-778

Index

Viviani, 814
Volhynia, 820
Voltaire, 659

W

WALDECK-ROUSSEAU, Prime Minister, 785, and Dreyfus case, 787

Wallenstein, 553, early victory, 554, opposes the Edict of Restitution, 554, dismissed by Emperor, 555, recalled, 557, assassinated, 557

Walpole, influence on cabinet system, 706, party system under, 706, peace minister, 710, character and abilities, 710, opposition to, 711, declares war against Spain, 711, and war of Austrian Succession, 711, driven from office, 711

Walsingham, 535

War, Great, of 1914, causes, 801-805, reflections on, 805, magnitude and destructiveness of, 806, 807, combatant States, 806, 807; compulsory military service, 807, neutral States, 807, effect on colonies and possessions of combatants, 807, entry of United States of America and South American Republics in, 807, great numbers of combatants and casualties, 808, 809, trench warfare, 809, 814, science and, 809, civil populations and, 810, women and, 810, Balance of Power, 810, strategic characteristics of, 811, 812, summary of chief events of, 812, neutrality of Belgium violated, 813, resistance of Belgium, 813, entry of Great Britain, 813, German advance, 814, Battle of Marne, 814, Russians defeated, 815, Western Front, 815-819, the Naval War, 815, 816, blockade of Germany, 816, order of armies, 816, battles on Western Front, 817-819, German retreat 819, Eastern Front, 819-

822, Russian victories, 819, Brussilof's great offensive, 820, Roumania's failure, 820, Russian Revolution, 821, in the Balkans, 822, 823, Gallipoli campaign, 822, Serbia crushed, 822, 823, Italian campaign, 823, campaign against Turkey in Mesopotamia and Palestine, 824, 825, position after four years, 825, unrestricted submarine warfare, 825, great German offensive of 1918, 826, the Allied counter-offensive, 827, unity of command under General Foch, 827, Germany defeated, 827, armistice, 828, fall of Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey, 828, surrender of German fleet, 828, Allies advance to Rhine, 828, Peace negotiations, 829, League of Nations, 829, 830, 832, 833, nature of Peace Conference, 830, settlement, 831

Warsaw, Duchy of, 696

Washington, 716

Waterloo, compared with Great War battles, 816

Wellington, Duke of, with army in Spain, 720, politician, 762, and Ireland, 763, attitude towards Reform Bill, 764, and Corn Laws, 767

Wentworth (*see* Strafford), rise to power, 601, policy in England, 601

Wesley, John, rise of, 709, revival of religion, 709

Western Front, contrasted with Eastern, 815

Westphalia, Peace of, 559, kingdom of, 696

Whigs, origin, 608, discredited, 609, difference between Tories and, 707, and American Revolt, 715, attitude towards Reform Bill, 764

William I, King of Prussia, 748, becomes German Emperor, 759

William II, German Emperor, accession, 783, character and aims, 783, contest with Bismarck, 783, Germany under,

Index

- 789, 790, relations with Sultan of Turkey, 789, absolutism of, 788, relations with Labour, 789, 790
- William III of England, 514, saves Holland from Louis XIV, 579, organizes an alliance against France, 580, invited to England, 585, 611, lands at Torbay, 611, in Ireland, 587, 612, makes partition treaties, 590, reforms the Grand Alliance against France, 592, 611, unpopularity, 613, death, 613, attitude towards parliament, 704
- William IV of England, 765
- William "the Silent," Prince of Orange, 508, forms Pacification of Ghent, 510, murdered, 511
- Wilson, Woodrow, American President, 829, his "fourteen points," 830
- Wolsey, administration, 539
- Women's franchise in England, 810
- Wordsworth, 703
- Y
- YORKTOWN, surrender of Cornwallis at, 717
- Ypres, 816, 826
- Z
- ZEEBRUGGE, 828
- Zeppeln, 809, 810
- Zollverein, Prussian, 748
- Zwingli, 494, how different from the other reformers, 495

END OF PART III

